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PROJECT PROSYMS

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**PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS
THAILAND**

PROJECT PROSYMS

Prepared under the direction of
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**SPECIAL OPERATIONS RESEARCH OFFICE
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WASHINGTON, D.C.**

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Special Operations Division
Chief of the Army, Wash. 25-DC

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Date *6 April 1960*
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THE STAFF

The technical direction of the entire PROSYMS project and the development of the methodology was the primary responsibility of Dr. Egerton L. Ballachey. The entire project staff cooperated in the development of methods and procedures. Mr. John L. Houk had primary responsibility for the conduct of research of the Thailand study. He was assisted in his task by Dr. F. Loyal Greer, Dr. Howard D. Kramer, Mrs. Marjorie N. Lisle, Miss Imogene E. Okes, and Mrs. Mary R. Wason. The report was edited by Mrs. Mary Dell Uliassi and Mrs. Martha A. Congress.

Fifty-two consultants, selected so as to represent various interests and disciplines, contributed information and data to one or more phases of the research. All were trained observers whose recent residence in Thailand averaged about four years. Dependence on and gratitude for the contributions made by these area specialists does not remove from SORO sole responsibility for any shortcomings this report may possess.

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FOREWORD

One important and sometimes overlooked aspect of the Army mission in time of war is psychological in nature—to persuade, rather than force the enemy or peoples in the area of military activity to support the national objectives of the United States. To be objective, the means of persuasion—the messages or symbols, appeals or threats—must be tailored to communicate with an audience with which few Americans have ever had contact. In World War II the enemy included such culturally disparate peoples as the Germans, Italians, and Japanese. The turn of events since 1945—involving Koreans, Malaysians, Chinese, Algerians, Lebanese, Tibetans, Laotians, and others in military events—indicates a wide range of possible future target audiences.

In order to be prepared for possible military involvements in foreign areas, Army psychological operators need to have on hand a guide to the type of appeals and symbols likely to be effective with audiences of highly varying cultures. And they also need to have available some of the principles of style and format by which messages may be presented with maximum effectiveness.

It was to meet these needs that the Army requested this Office to undertake project PROSYMS in the spring of 1957. Reports on psychological appeals and symbolic materials for ten countries—Burma, Cambodia, China, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Laos, Syria, Thailand, and Viet Nam—will be made available to the Army this year, and by the time the research is complete in 1961, reports for several additional countries will be available to the Army.

The research methodology employed is explained in detail in Annex 1 and is common to all the country studies. It is possible that this methodology may have a value in and of itself—as a technique by which an operator in the field may obtain additional up-to-the-minute data and as a relevant aid in psychological operations training programs.

The actual appeal ideas collected and evaluated in the course of research and presented in this report are not intended to be, and should not be taken to be, finished messages. It is believed, however, that these appeal ideas, with their accompanying symbolic materials and supporting comments, will materially aid the psychological

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operator. This report should form a reservoir of usable ideas and spark new ones for appeals and messages appropriate to the cultural background of the audience and to the developing tactical and strategic situation.

I believe that Project PROSYMS will materially assist the Army in accomplishing its psychological mission.

Kai E. Rasmussen

KAI E. RASMUSSEN,
Director.

SEPTEMBER 1959

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THAILAND

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SECTION I

PLAN OF THE REPORT

OBJECTIVES OF THE REPORT

This report was prepared for use in planning and conducting psychological operations in Thailand. The information it supplies is derived from Project PROSYMS-Thailand, conducted for the Department of the Army by the Special Operations Research Office, The American University, Washington, D.C.

The primary objective of Project PROSYMS was to develop propaganda appeal ideas (with their accompanying key symbols) of evaluated persuasiveness for communicating psychological operations messages to members of important special audiences in selected countries. As the research design was worked out, however, it became clear that with little more time and effort other information could be obtained which would be useful to the field operator. Therefore, arrangements were made to secure the following additional information:

1. An estimate of the opportunities existing in Thailand for the successful conduct of psychological operations.
2. Analysis of each of several selected special audiences in terms of group characteristics bearing on the conduct of psychological operations.
3. A body of stylistic and format principles for effectively communicating appeals to the country as a whole and, when appropriate, to each of the selected major groups.
4. A list of injunctions (do's and don't's) dealing primarily with the content of psychological operations messages; that is, issues or topics to be emphasized, those to be avoided, and the manner in which certain subjects should be approached.

RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

At the outset of the project, the PROSYMS staff faced the central research questions: What is a propaganda symbol? What are the characteristics of propaganda symbols that differentiate them from other classes of symbols?

It was recognized that the definition of propaganda symbol which was formulated would dictate the research design and that the fruitfulness of the design would depend upon the adequacy of the definition.

Propaganda symbol, or key symbol, was defined as an element, verbal or nonverbal, in a psychological operations appeal that is especially significant in evoking the desired effect. This meant that the research had to be designed to secure psychological operations appeal ideas for use in psychological operations. The identification of key symbols within an appeal idea is designed to give the operator a more complete understanding of the appeal idea presented, and to guide him in adapting the appeal idea (constructed under broad assumptions) for use in specific operating situations.

The usefulness of any appeal idea is dependent on articulated purpose and the relevant vulnerabilities of a significant audience. Therefore, the research had to specify appropriate psychological operations tasks (a specific mental or behavioral effect, which, if secured, will contribute to the achievement of a psychological operations goal) to be accomplished with or by means of specific groups which could most likely further U.S. military objectives.

The research approach of Project PROSYMS-Thailand started with the selection of such groups. For each, appropriate psychological operations tasks were then specified. Next, appeal ideas were developed for each problem situation. (A problem situation is the special and particular problem of accomplishing a psychological operations task with or by means of a particular special audience.) Finally, an attempt was made to identify the key propaganda symbols in each appeal idea. Thus, the research moved from audiences to tasks, then from tasks to appeal ideas with accompanying key symbols.

The methodology developed for PROSYMS-Thailand had two major features. First, it pinpointed the research: the focus was upon those special audiences most likely to be able to contribute to the accomplishment of U.S. aims and objectives in the event of war, and those tasks judged feasible for each selected group and relevant under the research assumptions that guided the study. Considerations of time and research resources made it impractical to attempt to cover all important groups and all feasible psychological operations tasks; furthermore, any attempt to cover all possible situations would slight those situations more likely to occur. It should be noted, however, that for any given group the appeal ideas derived for specific tasks may prove applicable to other tasks. Indeed, the appeals may be useful for accomplishing tasks not now envisaged which may emerge in the future.

The second major feature of the methodology was the use of consultants as the primary source of PROSYMS data. The research instruments that were developed made it possible to secure data from consultants through correspondence. (Examples of these research

instruments can be found in the PROSYMS-Burma Report—*Psychological Operations: Burma (Project PROSYMS)*, pp. 393-479.) The PROSYMS staff was thus able to tap systematically the vast reservoir of experience and knowledge which area specialists have accumulated. Every effort was made to secure a group of consultants with diverse backgrounds, representing the different theoretical persuasions and interests which exist, in the belief that this would minimize the effect of consultant bias on the research. In addition, a panel of three consultants was convened at the Special Operations Research Office, to secure auxiliary information considered useful to the field operator; this includes analyses of important selected groups and estimates of propaganda opportunities in Thailand in terms of ten major psychological operations goals.

The procedures utilized to select special audiences, tasks, appeal ideas, and key symbols will be briefly explained in the introductory remarks to the several sections of this report. A more detailed explanation of the research method and procedures is presented as an annex.

RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS

In formulating the project, certain research assumptions were adopted. These are:

1. A state of war would exist in the Far East involving the United States.
2. The United States would not begin this presumed war. In all probability, therefore, the United States would be on the defensive in the beginning.
3. This conflict would not be an all-out nuclear war, but would be waged for limited objectives.
4. The war would be of some duration, long enough for the employment of various psychological operations campaigns suitable for different phases of the war—defensive, stalemate, offensive.
5. The principal enemy in the Far East would be Communist China, with the Soviet Union initially maintaining official neutrality but lending moral and material support to Communist China.
6. Thailand would play some role in the presumed war in the Far East. Since this role cannot be predicted with any certainty, various contingencies, even some that seem unlikely, are projected. The principal contingencies are categorized for research purposes into the following broad projected general military situations:
 - a. The regime in control of Thailand at the time of the presumed conflict is an enemy of the United States, or actively allied with an enemy of the United States. This calls first for the special study of the military forces (or elements thereof) which would actively oppose U.S. military forces.

b. As in a above, the regime in control of Thailand at the time of the presumed conflict is an enemy of the United States, or actively allied with an enemy of the United States. This calls also for the study of civilian groups within the country which might be able to contribute to the accomplishment of the U.S. aims and objectives.

c. Thailand, or an area thereof, is under the control of the United States civil affairs/military government (consolidation phase).

d. Thailand, or an area thereof, is occupied by an enemy of the United States.

e. Thailand is actively allied with the United States.

f. Thailand is neutral in the presumed war.

RESEARCH DEFINITIONS

A few of the research definitions employed in Project PROSYMS differ slightly from the definitions given in the Department of the Army Field Manual, FM 33-5. These minor differences reflect the need for special definitions of the terms as used in this research. The definitions employed in this report are repeated in the text wherever such repetition is deemed necessary for clarity.

Psychological Operations—A broad term encompassing those political, military, economic, and ideological actions planned and conducted to create—in enemy, hostile, neutral, or friendly foreign groups—the emotions, attitudes, or behavior favorable to the accomplishment of United States policies and objectives.

Psychological Operations Objective—A military, political, economic, or other objective, the attainment of which is to be achieved or facilitated by the employment of psychological operations. The military objectives are:

1. To reduce the combat efficiency of the enemy military forces.
2. To further the war effort by modifying or manipulating attitudes and behavior of special audiences.
3. To facilitate reorganization and control of occupied or liberated areas in conjunction with civil affairs and military government operations.
4. To obtain the cooperation of allies and neutrals in the war effort.

Psychological Operations Goal—A type of desired behavioral or mental effect which, if secured, will contribute to the achievement of a psychological operations objective.

Psychological Operations Opportunity—The relative probability of accomplishing the goals of psychological operations in a given country, as determined by an examination of factors in the society which are more or less enduring over a period of time.

Psychological Operations Task—A specific mental or behavioral effect, which, if secured, will contribute to the achievement of a psychological operations goal.

Psychological Operations Appeal Idea—A line of persuasion designed to accomplish a task of psychological operations.

A *persuasive appeal idea* is one which has been judged likely to lead the members of a special audience to think, feel, or act in ways which would facilitate the accomplishment of the psychological operations task.

A *boomerang appeal idea* is one which has been judged likely to evoke negative or adverse effects (damaging to the accomplishment of the desired military purpose) in the special audience to which it is primarily addressed, even under optimum conditions.

The following factors must be considered in evaluating the persuasiveness of appeal ideas for psychological operations:

Differential effect—This refers to an appeal idea which evokes the desired response in the special audience to which it is addressed, but produces negative or adverse effects (damaging to the accomplishment of the desired military purpose) in other groups in the population.

Situational effect—This refers to any special condition, situation, or circumstance which may decrease the effectiveness of the appeal idea or the members of the special audience to which it is addressed, or may lead to adverse effects.

Key Symbol—The element, verbal or nonverbal, in an appeal which is especially significant in evoking the desired effect.

Problem Situation—The special and particular problem of accomplishing a psychological operations task with or by means of a particular special audience.

Special Audience—An aggregate of persons who share certain predispositions which, when successfully manipulated, may lead to mental or behavioral effects that will assist in the accomplishment of a task of psychological operations. (Throughout this report, the term "group" will be used in lieu of the longer term "special audience" when meaning is not affected.)

The following factors must be considered in evaluating the significance of special audiences (groups) for psychological operations:

1. *Effectiveness*—The degree to which a group can influence the aims, objectives, and capabilities of the nation of which it is a part. The different factors in effectiveness are discussed in Section III.

2. *Susceptibility*—The degree to which a group can be influenced by psychological operations appeals to respond in ways that will assist in the accomplishment of psychological operations tasks.

Two aspects of susceptibility which must be considered are:

Sensitivity—This involves the nature and strength of the feelings of the members of a special audience about their own economic, political, and social status in the society; and about their relationships with other groups.

Responsiveness to Source—This involves the nature and strength of the feelings of the members of a special audience about the source of

the psychological operations message. (For this project it is assumed that the message is identifiable as American in origin. Thus, it will be necessary to consider the group's feelings about United States aims and policies relevant to the country, and feelings about Americans as such.)

3. *Potential*—The degree to which a group can assist in the accomplishment of a goal of psychological operations. This is a function of the effectiveness and susceptibility of the group.

A CAUTION

The appeal ideas presented in the report are intended to be used by the operator in the field in the light of the tactical or strategic situation as revealed by intelligence reports and other sources of information. In writing messages, the appeal ideas must be adapted to known factors in the developing situation. They are presented only as the basic, raw materials of messages; they are not intended to be, and should not be taken to be, finished messages. And while every effort has been made to present only persuasive appeals, it should be emphasized that the appeal ideas, though evaluated for persuasiveness by area experts, have not been field tested. The operator is responsible for judging the appropriateness and probable persuasiveness of an appeal from his own knowledge of the situation in which he is operating. Finally, it is hoped that the appeal ideas in the report will have germinal value in sparking the operator to develop his own appeal ideas for operational use.

As indicated earlier, key symbols have been identified within appeal ideas whenever possible to give the operator a more complete understanding of the appeal ideas presented, and to guide him in adapting them for use in specific operating situations. However, the operator should be cautioned against devising his own appeal ideas around the key symbols identified in this report—because the meaning of a key symbol is influenced by the specific context provided by the appeal idea. A given key symbol may assume widely different meanings in different appeal contexts.

GUIDE TO THE USE OF REPORT

The report is divided into eight sections and six annexes, briefly described here:

Section I, *Plan of the Report*, sets forth the objectives of the report, research approach, assumptions, and definitions, and offers a word of caution about the use of the report.

Section II, *Special Audiences*, identifies the groups in Thailand significant for purposes of psychological operations; it objectively defines and describes each group, and explains how the relative impor-

tance of each was determined for the conduct of psychological operations to arrive at a selected list for intensive study.

Section III, *Opportunities for Psychological Operations*, gives the planner and operator a general view of the possibilities in Thailand for the successful conduct of psychological operations, should U.S. forces become engaged in Southeast Asia under the assumptions which have been set forth above.

Section IV, *Analyses of Selected Special Audiences*, discusses each of the selected major audiences in terms of those group characteristics bearing on the conduct of psychological operations.

Section V, *Communications Information*, provides the planner and operator with information on how to achieve maximum effectiveness in messages to the country as a whole and to particular groups. It summarizes the style and format principles which should be observed.

Section VI, *Tasks of Psychological Operations*, presents the structural framework within which the study was conducted. It includes a full list of psychological operations tasks developed for use in the study, categorized under several projected military situations and ordered by the goals of desired behavioral and mental effects.

Section VII, *Appeal Ideas of Judged Persuasiveness (With Accompanying Symbols)*, presents evaluated appeal ideas judged to have an acceptable degree of persuasiveness. Accompanying key symbols (any element in an appeal identified as significant in evoking the desired response) and other pertinent comments are also included.

Section VIII, *Injunctions*, set forth do's and don't's which should be heeded in selecting appeals and in writing messages.

The four annexes follow the main body of the report:

Annex 1. The Research Plan, Procedures and Technical Summary.

Annex 2. References to Some Factors Influencing Communications—from *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*.

Annex 3. Index to Appeal Ideas by Task and Special Audience.

Annex 4. Index to Special Audience Information.

USE OF THAI WORDS AND PHRASES

Throughout this report it has been necessary to use a considerable number of Thai words or phrases. This is particularly true in Section V, *COMMUNICATIONS INFORMATION* and Section VII, *APPEAL IDEAS OF JUDGED PERSUASIVENESS*, where Thai words and phrases can communicate more exact nuances of meaning. For example, preferred terms of address for certain Thai groups in particular situations can usually be expressed more precisely in the language of the country. This is also true of appropriate Thai expressions for certain important key symbols.

Such use of Thai, however, presents certain problems, because there are several widely different systems for the transliteration of

Thai script into the Latin alphabet. Since Thai is a tonal language, a simple romanization is not adequate. Terms with only a slightly different tonal inflection can mean entirely different things. These differences are important to the communicator who must supervise the translation of messages he wishes to direct to the Thai people. Even if indigenous personnel are available, he must be able to indicate to them certain words or phrases which he believes will form the emotional essence of the message.

Therefore, it was apparent to the SORO staff that a system of transliteration must be selected which would indicate the subtleties of meaning attendant upon tonal differences. After some investigation, a modified version of the system developed by Professor Mary Haas was selected for use. This system is sufficiently well known among those who speak Thai to indicate to them with precision the proper tone and pronunciation to be used. Use of the Haas system of transliteration in order to indicate the proper meaning and the proper tone for oral use does not, of course, do away with the necessity to put all written messages into Thai script.

It is always important to remember that the Thai language is one of the most complicated to use. No more than a handful of Americans are fluent in the language—and only long experience in the use of the language will enable the speaker to avoid linguistic pitfalls. And if he used incorrect Thai expressions, he could appear ridiculous or insulting to the Thai listener (for example, see Section V on use of vulgarisms). Unless the operator in the field is one of the few Americans who can handle the language with ease, he should make every effort to secure the services of competent and trustworthy indigenous persons with whom he can discuss the subtleties of language in designing messages, and upon whom he can rely for proper translation or interpretation of the message into Thai.

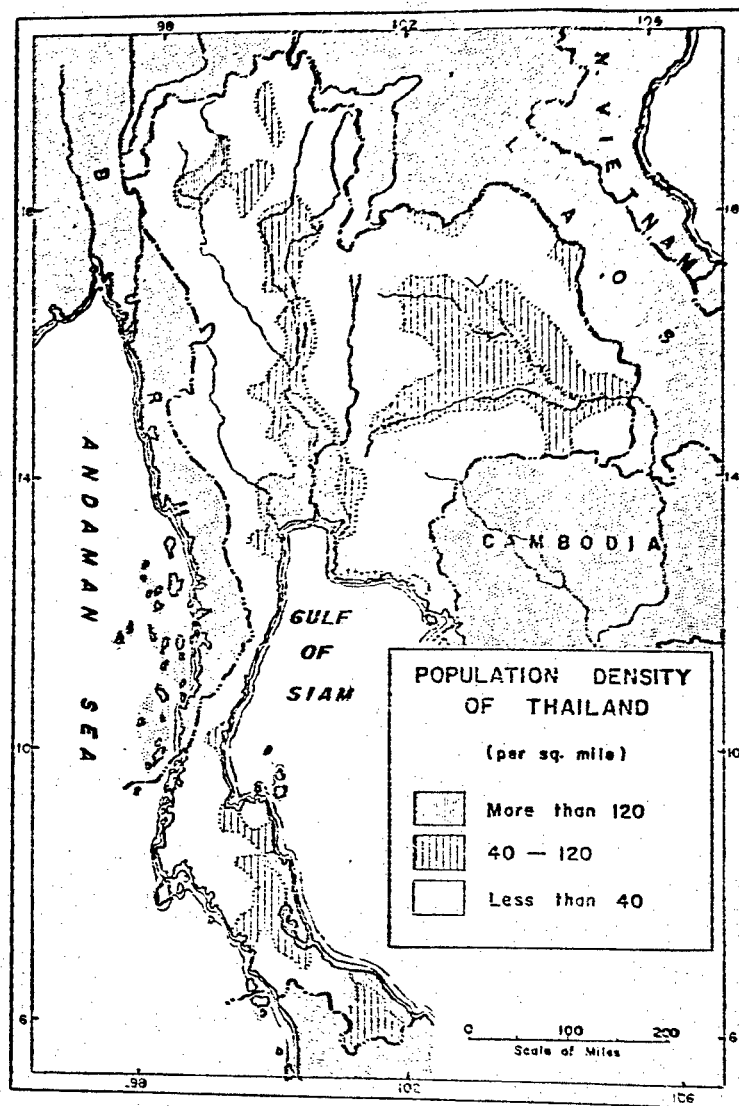


FIGURE 2.

SECTION II

SPECIAL AUDIENCES

In planning PROSYMS research, it was necessary to identify the special audiences important to the conduct of psychological operations with regard to Thailand. Because many communications must necessarily be beamed at the total population, Thailand as a whole was selected as one audience at the outset. But the population as a whole is not always the most rewarding audience for the psychological operator since its vulnerabilities and predispositions are diffuse and overlapping. Therefore, it was also necessary to identify those special audiences within the total population whose predispositions and role in the society would be more likely to be decisive in leading to the action or attitudes desired to support United States military operations. In other words, it was necessary to identify those special audiences in the population of Thailand which have the greatest potential for assisting in the accomplishment of the goals and tasks of United States psychological operations.

For the purposes of this research, then, such a special audience is defined as an aggregate of persons who share certain predispositions that, when successfully manipulated, may lead to mental and/or behavioral effects that will assist in the accomplishment of tasks of psychological operations. By this definition, special audiences are not mutually exclusive in their membership; that is, a person may be a member of more than one special audience.

SPECIAL AUDIENCES SELECTED FOR INTENSIVE STUDY

After careful review of the *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand* and other comparable sources, the PROSYMS staff selected sixteen Thai groups (not including the military) which appeared to be significant for psychological operations. The selection was based on two general criteria: (1) *effectiveness*, the degree to which a group can influence the aims, objectives, and capabilities of the nation of which it is a part, and (2) *susceptibility*, the degree to which a group can be influenced by psychological operations appeals to respond in ways that will assist in the accomplishment of psychological warfare tasks.

This tentative list was submitted to area specialists who were invited to amend or modify it as they saw fit. These consultants identified as significant nine additional special audiences; then they ranked and rated the twenty-five (including subdivisions of the military) groups in the amended list for effectiveness and for susceptibility. Their final rankings guided the staff in selecting fifteen major groups (including subdivisions of the military) for more intensive study. Arranged alphabetically, these selected special audiences are as follows:

1. Administrators
2. Armed forces (as competitive political forces)
3. Buddhist monks
4. Central Thai
5. Chinese
6. Frontier police
7. Mass media personnel
8. Military—officers
9. Military—noncommissioned officers
10. Military—enlisted men
11. Professional classes
12. Royalists
13. Thailand as a whole
14. University students and faculties
15. Western-educated elite

For detailed analyses of these selected audiences, see Section IV, **ANALYSES OF SELECTED SPECIAL AUDIENCES**. In the appeal development phase of this study (see Section VI), these selected special audiences are the focus of the work. The special cultural ways of each are considered in developing appeal ideas that will be effective in eliciting the attitudes and actions required to achieve particular tasks of psychological operations.

OBJECTIVE DESCRIPTIONS OF SPECIAL AUDIENCES

More intensive study of the selected list appears both logical and economical of time and effort since it is presumably to the most important groups that the operator will address his messages. Nevertheless, each of the groups identified in the longer list of twenty-five has some significance in the society and the operator might have to communicate in some limited way with any one of the groups at one time or another.

For this reason, a panel of three area specialists, working closely with the PROSYMS staff, has prepared concise descriptions of all groups except Thailand as a whole and the frontier police (which are defined but not described). In these descriptions, which follow, those groups selected for more intensive study are marked with an

asterisk. When pertinent unclassified information for a special audience is contained in the *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*, 1957, page references follow the description.

***Administrators**

This group consists of all members of the Thai civil service, which is organized into 13 ministries and approximately sixty departments. Included are provincial governors (*cajwàd*) and provincial officials, district officers (*naaj amphəə*) and other district officials, school principals, career teachers, and all civil service employees including those in the lower three grades (*chán trī, chán thoo, and chán òg*). Members of the civil service wear a uniform with insignia on all official occasions.

Local government, as distinct from national government, is not well developed in Thailand. Thus, virtually all teachers are ultimately under the control of the Ministry of Education, agricultural extension workers under the Ministry of Agriculture, etc.

This group is greatly underpaid, and therefore susceptible to political influence. Usually the civil servant must augment his income from other sources, often to the detriment of his primary work. Nonetheless, the group represents a continuing element in the bureaucracy. It has not, however, exercised as much control over national politics as the military group.

References to *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*:

ADMINISTRATORS: *Principal References*, 535-542, 377, 547-563; corruption of, 530-531, 572, 573, 629; educationalists, 149, 163, 263, 264-270, 271-273, 283-285, 541; historical background of, 497-498, 529-531, 547-549, 561-563; in Bangkok, 150, 156, 157; leisure-time activities of, 314-315, 338; municipal and regional, 167-168, 314-315, 552-563, 600; political role and attitudes of, 576-577, 584, 590; role in health and welfare, 438-443, 631; social status of, 32-33, 203, 220, 221; village, 142-144, 169, 559-561, 602, 606; miscellaneous, 127, 455, 458.

***Armed Forces (As Competitive Political Forces)**

This group consists of all officers (army, air, navy, marines, and police) who, either by conviction or to secure advantages for themselves or their own branches of the service, engage in political activity or serve a political leader or group which seeks to change or maintain the political complexion of the government.

Included in this category are the "Promoter" group deriving from the 1932 *coup d'état*, those officers seeking reform, and officers attempting to secure personal financial gain. Such officers include important military men who are followers and subleaders of the political move-

ments respectively led, or formerly led, by Marshal Pibul Songgram (phībuun songkhraam) General Sarit Thammarat (sàrīd thánárád), Admiral Thaharn Kambhīram (tháháan khámhīran), General Kach Songgram (kàad songkhraam), Police Director General Phao Sriyanond (phāw slijaanon), and officials and other military leaders in the several political parties—particularly the Revolutionary Party, the SMP (séerīi mánan̄khásīlan), the Unionist Party (sàhāphuum), "Might is Right" Party (thammaathípād), and the Nationalist Party (cháadnījom).

The controlling members of the group reside in Bangkok and generally have been exposed to Western education, either as undergraduates in Western universities or as trainees in Western military staff schools. Nearly all members of the group are graduates of Thai universities and their respective service academies. The low pay scale makes the officers dependent on outside sources of income. Senior officers generally engage in various commercial activities; and through gifts and privileges to junior officers, obtain political support and loyalty.

References to Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand:

ARMED FORCES (as political): historical background, 59, 497, 505, 506-507, 525, 527, 568-577, 581-589, 604, 605; police force, 355-356, 394, 586, 587, 611, 612, 615, 616-620; political role of, 23-24, 32-33, 154, 537, 545; role in information and propaganda, 336a, 336b, 339; miscellaneous, 163.

***Buddhist Monks**

This group consists of all adult male, ethnic Thai members of the Buddhist clergy above the rank of novice. It is estimated that there are from 150,000 to 200,000 monks of all grades in the Buddhist order, or *sangkhā*.

The active head of the hierarchy of Buddhist clergy is the *sangkhārād*, or Prince of the Church, chosen by the King from the executive council of the Buddhist Order. The members of the council are chosen from the abbots of the royal temples (*wats* or *wād*).

The Buddhist order in Thailand was formerly called *Hinayana* (*hīnājan*), "Lesser Vehicle"; the preferred term is now *Theravāda* (*thēerāwādaa*), "Doctrine of the Elders" or Southern Buddhism. Buddhism in Thailand is composed of two sects: the *māhānikāy* and the *thammājūl*. The latter was established by King Mongkut as a reform order, primarily for scholarship and teaching. The difference between the two sects, then, is primarily one of function and not of theological doctrine. The older *māhānikāy* sect embraces the majority of the clergy—the ratio between the sects being about 35 to 1. Within the clerical community there are distinctions on the basis of seniority as well as of scholarly attainment.

At the local level, the *wat* is organized to include seven categories: the head monk or abbot, the permanent monks, the temporary monks, the novices, the temporary novices, the nuns, and the temple boys. The temporary monks and the temporary novices are those monks who enter the *wat* for a short period, usually the ninety days of Buddhist Lent. Monks and novices wear nearly identical saffron robes. Nuns wear white robes. The language of prayer and ceremonial incantation is *Pali* (*baaliu*).

Besides religious ceremonies, the Buddhist clergy also conduct special ceremonies for the monkhood, officiate at traditional rites, participate in family-centered events such as marriages, funerals, etc. In the villages of Thailand, monks are frequently local leaders, taking part in secular as well as religious activities.

An important value in the life of the Buddhist monk is austerity. Austerity is expressed in many ways: no monks may take food after noon; they must not possess money or luxurious items; monks carry begging bowls to Thai homes.

References to *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*:

BUDDHIST MONKS: *Principal References*, 20-22, 138-142, 306-328, 329-330, 599; historical background of, 49, 131, 132, 259, 271; in the village, 135, 138-142, 189, 320-328, 419, 465-466, 560-561; position in society, 19, 20-22, 32, 112, 146-147, 212, 217, 222, 322-328, 472-474, 599; role in education, 259-260, 271; role in healing and astrology, 297-298, 313, 419; role in religious rites and ceremonies, 195, 297, 298, 313-322.

*Central Thai (Bangkok Siamese)

This group comprises all adult, ethnic Thai born in, and considering as their permanent place of residence, the Central Plain of Thailand. The Central Thai number about 9 million. Their historically homogeneous culture and proximity to Bangkok make this group the model of modern Thai culture.

The Central Thai speak the language used in Bangkok which is the official, predominant, and most respected dialect of Thailand. The city of Bangkok, with a population of about 1,200,000, lies within the Central Plain and is the metropolis and cultural font of the country. Its population is predominantly Central Thai but also includes ever-shifting proportions of all elements of Thailand's people.

The Central Plain of Thailand, excluding Bangkok, is the area devoted to the commercial farming of rice, the principal item in Thai diet and foreign trade.

References to *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*:

CENTRAL THAI (Bangkok Siamese): *Principal References*, 85-88; economic role, 371, 731, 757; in Bangkok, 153-164, 223-226, 454-460, 462; living conditions, 178, 181, 347, 451, 464, 739, 757;

myths and religion, 327, 417; social structure, 137, 194, 197-198; miscellaneous, 6-7, 9, 608; see also, references for "Thailand as a Whole," this section.

*Chinese

Included in this group are all ethnic and linguistic Chinese groups, including those who speak Hakka, Cantonese, Hokkien, Hainanese, Mandarin, etc., as well as those (the majority) who speak Teochiu. The term "ethnic Chinese" is defined as those Chinese permanently residing in Thailand who habitually speak a Chinese dialect and conform to Chinese behavior patterns in most social situations.

The Chinese are the most important minority group in Thailand. The present Chinese population numbers between two and three million, the majority from Southern China. Large-scale immigration of Chinese did not begin until the nineteenth century. Since 1920, Chinese immigration to Thailand has included a relatively larger proportion of women and children; this has contributed to the isolation of the Chinese community.

The geographical location of the Chinese in Thailand is largely determined by economic opportunity. At present the largest single concentration is in the Bangkok metropolitan area, where Chinese constitute 40 to 50 percent of the population. They are also located in the rich alluvial plain of central Thailand, and in the region of the tin mines and rubber plantations in southern Thailand. In recent years, numbers of the Chinese have settled in the north and northeast to engage in commerce.

Most economic activities in Thailand are dominated by the Chinese. The principal political activities of the group are related to the protection of Chinese interests, not to the pursuit of political power in Thailand. Until about 1920 the problems presented by an ever-growing Chinese minority were almost entirely economic in nature; however, since that time the social problems inherent in the presence of a large alien cultural bloc have made their appearance.

A correlation exists between speech groups and occupations. The Teochiu, who speak the native dialect of about 60 percent of the Chinese community, have engaged in banking, the rice trade, insurance and rubber manufacture; the Hakka in tobacco manufacture and leather working; the Hainanese in sawmilling; the Hokkien in the tea and rubber trade; and the Cantonese in the restaurant business. This specialization is gradually breaking down, however. Mandarin is now increasingly used for communication among the more educated and is taught in the Chinese private schools.

The Chinese community is highly organized in the tradition which formerly existed on the mainland. The most important organization is the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, which is representative of the Chinese population and has acted informally as *de facto* representative

of China. This organization—like most Chinese organizations in Thailand—is split into bitter factions growing out of Communist or Nationalist political sympathies.

Other organizations, including the traditional secret societies, are set up on regional or linguistic lines. All of these associations offer their members such mutual-aid features and social-welfare functions as education, insurance, burial and cemetery services, charity, etc.

The social orientation of the Chinese in Thailand does not blend easily into the Thai pattern. Chinese tend to live apart from the Thai, as in the Sampeng (*sāmpheŋ*) district of Bangkok. Family solidarity and Confucian organization of the family on the basis of sex, generation, and age still prevail. Although the traditional social values derived from the extended family system of Old China are tempered, the system itself causes Chinese households to be generally larger than those of the Thai.

The clothing worn by the Chinese community is not always a distinguishing feature, but, in general, Chinese laborers wear short trousers and shirts; middle-class merchants and shopkeepers wear tunics buttoned to the neck, no shirts, and Western-style cuffless trousers; women wear modified Chinese-style dresses, although the poorer women wear long Chinese trousers and a jacket over a shirt-like garment. Festive silks are usually worn only during the Chinese New Year.

Chinese diet includes more pork, poultry, eggs, and greens than the standard rice-based Thai diet.

References to *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*:

CHINESE: *Principal References*, 9-11, 73, 80-81, 97-102, 123-126, 211-212; dress, 456; economic role, 76, 364-373, 376-377, 382, 392-396, 417, 443, 450, 453, 463-464, 731-732, 754, 763, 768, 769, 773, 778, 783, 784, 793, 809, 817, 820, 821, 832, 838-839, 857, 858, 861; family system, 209-210; government policy towards, 108, 128-129, 340-344, 446-447, 571, 573, 593-594, 599, 731-732; historical background, 42, 57, 80, 81, 363-369, 640-641, 789, 822-823, 844, 846-847; housing, 459; in Bangkok, 79, 151, 153-157, 206, 207, 210; organizational membership, 160, 164-166, 403-405, 409, 468-469, 634; political role and attitudes, 11, 353, 396, 476-477, 589-590, 592, 593-594; position in society, 153, 617, 619, 658, 661, 823-824; religion, 331-332; role in education, 276-278; role in information and propaganda, 340-344, 352, 353-354, 355, 361.

Fishermen

This group consists of all adults actively engaged in seagoing and coastal fishing as a major occupation, including both owners and employees.

Some 53,000 persons were listed in the 1947 census as fishermen, but it is not known how many of these were salt-water fishermen. The fishing industry is an expanding one, particularly in the shallow offshore portions of the Gulf of Thailand, which comprise about three-fourths of the shore waters.

In the southern provinces, whole Thai-Malay villages engage in cooperative fishing activities. The villagers are organized in boat and net groups, and share the returns according to investment or duty. The catch is sold fresh, salted, or dried (usually through Chinese middlemen) in the coastal towns and in Bangkok. The commercial fishing industry centers in Bangkok.

References to *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*:

FISHERMAN: General References, 72, 89, 96, 169, 373, 383, 760-764.

***Frontier Police Force**

This group includes those specially recruited, equipped, trained, and compensated members of the Thai police who are organized into units which patrol the borders of Thailand. (For details, consult current intelligence reports.)

Lay Buddhists

This group consists of all Buddhist nonclerics who belong to organizations functioning in support of Buddhist principles.

There are a number of opportunities for laymen to demonstrate close adherence to religious organizations. They may belong to the local temple's lay committee, which may be either appointed by the abbot or self-constituted. This committee enjoys great prestige; it is usually formed of men who served at one time as temporary monks (*phra*) or novices (*neen*). Its functions include the control of temple funds and the direction and support of lay activities within the *wat*.

In recent years national Buddhist lay societies have been formed for benevolent and charitable purposes. These societies have national headquarters and local chapters. Chief among them are the Buddhist Association and the Young Buddhist Association. Also important are the more recent cooperatives formed under the auspices of the Thai Government.

References to *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*:

LAY BUDDHISTS: *Principal References*, 325-327; attitudes and values of, 20-22, 298-306, 318-319, 328; novices, 119-120, 139-140, 146, 182, 192, 223, 323-324; organizations of, 30, 138, 140-141; position in society, 135, 260.

***Mass-Media Personnel**

This group includes all Thai who are employed by newspapers, magazines, or other information media; or who are connected with movie making, radio, television, public relations; or who are independent professional writers. Those who perform only routine support services, like typists or workers in circulation departments, are not included.

The Thai press tends to be sensational and unreliable. Most of it is centered in Bangkok, but there are a few provincial papers. Most Bangkok newspapers are owned, partially or completely, or dominated by powerful political figures. There is a history of continual, though erratic, censorship. Advertising is an important feature of Thai journalism.

There is a sizable English-language press for foreigners and English-speaking Thai. The Chinese press is quite distinct and is operated for and by the Chinese community.

Thai journalists make low salaries and enjoy little prestige. Many will accept bribes to write special articles for interested parties. There have been a number of attempts to organize clubs or associations of journalists, which have met with limited success.

With the exception of the King's station, all broadcasting facilities (radio and television) are owned and operated by the government. Most sell time to advertisers in much the same way as in America. Radio stations are operated by the armed forces, and by some ministries and departments.

An increasing number of Thai motion pictures are being made. There are several small film companies (only two with studios) engaged in movie production.

References to *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*:

MASS-MEDIA PERSONNEL: *Principal References*, 333-361; editors and journalists, 156, 333-340, 354-359, 405, 497, 590, 619, 620; informal media, 359-361; radio and television, 347-350; motion pictures, 350-352; writers, 107, 255-256; miscellaneous, 231, 232, 258.

Merchants and Commercial Circles

This group includes all persons permanently residing in Thailand who are engaged in trade or commerce (domestic or foreign) as a major occupation.

Most commercial activity is conducted by the Chinese; however, other groups also engage in commerce. More of the Thai themselves are entering business. Indians and Pakistanis, of whom there are about 60,000 in the population, frequently act as importers and retailers specializing in textiles, jewelry, and provisions. The Chattyas

caste of Madras often are moneylenders. Some lower caste Indians monopolize the Bangkok milk and ice cream processing business. There is an Indian Chamber of Commerce in Bangkok. While Westerners have a myriad of business and financial interests in Bangkok and elsewhere, only a few are permanent residents.

Commerce is more personal in Thailand than in the modern West, that is, more business is handled by individual owners and partners than by corporations. However, the Thai Government competes with private entrepreneurs in many fields.

Rice is the most important product and trade commodity. Other products important in domestic and foreign trade include rubber, tin, teak, tobacco, oilseeds, mung beans, and wolfram. Chief imports include machinery, transportation equipment, mineral fuels, chemicals, some foods, textiles, and other consumer goods.

The domestic market varies according to income and prevailing conditions. In general, urban families aspire to own some Western-type consumer goods. Rural families seek mostly farm implements and supplies, textiles, and food adjuncts.

Bangkok is the center of commercial and trading activity. Shops and stalls and commercial establishments of all kinds line the streets of the trading areas. Outside Bangkok the principal trade channels are small stores, peddlers, local markets, and installations for the exploitation and transport of natural resources.

References to Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand:

MERCHANTS AND COMMERCIAL CIRCLES: *Principal references, 729-734, 771-801, 803-817, 819-839; constituent ethnic groups, Chinese, 10, 97, 98, 102, 124, 125, 156, 210, 377, 453, 459, 754, 763, 769, 809, 821-824; other, 12, 95, 102-104, 105, 106, 154, 370; government policy toward, 730, 848, 849, 857; in Bangkok, 150, 210, 223, 456; in the village, 198, 199; political role, 582.*

***Military Forces**

This group consists of all members of the armed forces (army, navy, marines, air force, and police) who are on active duty, including officers, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted men.

In general the branches of the regular armed forces recruit only Thai. Basic good health is a nominal requirement. Membership in the armed forces confers prestige and higher pay than ordinary rural occupations. It also creates an adverse counterflow to the Thai's traditional inclination to be with his family and in his own village. (For further detail, consult current intelligence reports and appropriate chapters of the *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*.)

*Professional Classes

This group includes all persons who practice a profession requiring specialized higher education and/or licensing.

University education or its equivalent is available in Thailand in the following fields: medicine, law, engineering, fine arts, education, business, librarianship, public administration, journalism, and agriculture. Graduates of these disciplines may be considered members of the professional classes. Excluded are such occupations as second-class doctors, midwives, teachers, and librarians who occupy their posts with little or no education, and others like agriculturists who are graduates of vocational schools only.

References to *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*:

PROFESSIONAL CLASSES: *Principal References*, 257, 364a, 383; doctors and dentists, 162, 200, 257, 421, 438, 440-443; judges, 523, 539, 546-547, 629-631; other, 366, 775; political role, 578; miscellaneous, 157.

*Royalists

This group includes all Thai who bear titles derived by linear descent from the King or by royal decree, or whose social, political, and economic orientation suggests an inclination toward the restoration of royal prerogative.

The Thai royalist group is composed of the royalty proper, who are related to the King; and the nobles, who are commoners awarded titles and positions by the King. There are five categories of royalty in Thailand: *cāwfāa*, *phārdōngcāw*, *mōmcāw*, *mōmrādechāw*, and *mōmlūay*. *Cāwfāa* are children of the King by a royal queen; *phārdōngcāw* children of *cāwfāa*, and so on down to *mōmlūay*. Children of *mōmlūay* are considered commoners. The principal noble ranks were, in order of importance, *cāwphrājāa*, *phrājāa*, *phrā*, *lūay*, and *khūn*. These titles of nobility were nonhereditary. Since the coup of 1932 they are no longer bestowed.

The present royal entourage includes the Privy Council, the Office of the Royal Household, and the Office of His Majesty's Secretary-General. Members of these monarchical institutions undoubtedly favor a more important role for the King.

Royalists who are actually members of the aristocracy still have considerable prestige—and some known royalists can exert considerable influence. But as a group, they are unorganized at present. The Democratic Party (*prāchaathipād*) is sometimes thought to be "Royalist." However, although its basic policies are conservative and in line with tradition, this party has not explicitly stood for royalism.

References to Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand:

ROYALISTS: General References, 153-154, 532, 797; historical background, general, 18, 47-49, 132-133, 294-296, 499-511, 525, 569, 643, 738; of the Kings, v, 35-59, 260-262, 294, 499-500, 625, 626, 639, 642, 644, 647-649, 788, 789, 795, 811-812; the King, 22-23, 203, 223, 306, 311, 474-475, 512, 514-516, 519, 521, 522, 532, 539, 630; political role, 537-538, 584-585, 638; position in society, 30, 31, 112, 120, 150, 151, 152a; social patterns, 152, 171, 204.

Thai Malay

This group consists of all ethnic and linguistic Malay peoples born in, and who have resided most of their lives in, the southern provinces of Thailand—principally in Narathiwat (náraathíwáad), Pattani (pàdtànii), Yala (jálaa), and Satun (sātuun). This group accepts Islam as a religion and way of life with modifications representing a more relaxed, less austere approach than that of the Arabic Moslems. (Isolated Islamic groups in areas of Thailand other than the south are excluded from research consideration here.)

Constituting the largest religious minority and the second largest unassimilated ethnic minority in Thailand, the Malays number almost 700,000, or from 3 to 4 percent of the total population. The Malay minority for the most part is located in the southernmost region of Thailand, where it comprises more than 80 percent of the inhabitants. Its principal political significance to Thailand is due to its concentration in one area and its members' close religious and social relationship with the Malay across the Thai-Malayan border. The Thai Malay traditionally follow their own leaders in political affairs and have a special representative in the central government.

All leaders of the Malay minority come from a small, educated group including descendants of former *rajas*. Among commoners, status is determined by religious belief, trade or profession, personal characteristics, civic status, and financial position. Most members of the group are illiterate peasants and fishermen, rice cultivators, coconut growers, or laborers on the rubber plantations and in the tin mines.

The Thai Government has consistently sought to assimilate this group, with little or no success. The group strongly resists such efforts, and instruction in the Malay language and Moslem religion is now permitted in their schools.

The basic social unit is the extended family (either maternal or paternal); blood relationships confer rights and also such obligations as economic assistance to less fortunate members of the extended family. The man is the head of the family, and is generally considered superior. Malay women do not observe purdah.

Practically all Malay live in small villages (kampon), where life is practically self-sufficient and self-contained, and members feel a strong sense of loyalty to their village. Labor within the villages is on a cooperative exchange basis. The typical Malay house is similar to the Thai house except that it may be larger to accommodate the extended family.

Malay dress for both men and women usually consists of three pieces of cloth wrapped around the lower and upper parts of the torso and around the head and neck, although the traditional Malay sarong (*sàrdong*) is worn on ceremonial occasions, and European-style clothing is increasing in popularity. A distinctive black velvet cap is worn by *Hajis* (*haaci*)—men who have made a trip to Mecca.

The Thai-Malay diet is distinguished principally from the Thai diet by the exclusion of pork, prohibited by Islamic law.

References to Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand:

THAI MALAY: *Principal References*, 88-92, 126, 169, 331, 594-596; attitudes of, 212, 421; economic role, 768, 857; government policy toward, 129, 276, 277, 595, 596; historical background, 85, 268-269, 372; political role, 477, 594-596; miscellaneous, 8, 11, 73, 211, 453.

Thai of the Northeast

This group (primarily Lao-Thai) includes all Thai citizens born in, and continuously residing in, the area of the Khorat (kboorâad) plateau and the country west of the Mekong River (mênámâmèk-hõn).

There are about 5 million Thai of the Northeast (Lao) on the Khorat plateau, or approximately 22 percent of the total population. Not included in this group are the scattered communities of Lao-Thai in Sara Buri (sàràbùrì), Rat Buri (ràadchàbùrì), and Phet Buri (phédchàbùrì). Rice farming, much of it marginal, is the principal occupation. Others engage in cattle raising, sugar growing, and sericulture.

Traditional Lao-Thai speech differs substantially from that of the Central Thai; however, pressure from Bangkok during recent years has resulted in adoption of the Central Thai language in all official transactions and in the schools.

A feeling of separateness, and deteriorating economic conditions have stimulated political radicalism in this group. Thus, such dissident factions as the Economist Party (*sèdthàkoon*) have drawn a large following from this area, which is the most fertile for Communist penetration.

This group is Buddhist, but animism, spirit worship, and fear of the occult have an even greater influence on the lives of people of the Northeast than on those in other parts of the country.

In addition to the Lao people, there are minority groups such as the kuj, phuuthaj, and khmer. The kuj and phuuthaj have been almost completely assimilated by the Thai.

The Khmer are a large group (unofficial estimates range from 100,000 to 600,000), most of whom live near the Cambodian border. Their living conditions are similar to those of the Thai. However, their darker complexion, greater amount of facial hair, and use of the ancient Khmer language, nearly unintelligible both to Thai and to modern Cambodians, make them a distinct group. Unless spoken to in their own language, they tend to be unapproachable, and therefore should be excluded from the group, Thai of the North-east.

References to *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*:

THAI OF THE NORTHEAST: *Principal References*, 85, 86, 122; economic role, 364, 370, 371, 379, 731, 747, 751, 753; government policy toward, 123, 282, 283, 477, 617, 760, 827; living conditions, 178, 267-268, 348, 437, 449, 459-460, 477, 739; political role, 459-460, 477-478, 587, 608; social structure, 143-144, 559; miscellaneous, 8, 9, 12, 170, 327, 834.

***Thailand as a Whole**

This group consists of all nationals of Thailand who can be expected to respond similarly to some psychological operations appeals because of their shared generalized interest in the destiny of Thailand and/or the sharing of certain of its most common cultural values.

References to *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*:

THAILAND AS A WHOLE: attitudes, 471-482 *et passim*; education, 259-285; history, 35-61; nature of society, 3-33; religion, 287-332; social structure, 131-170; values, 211-229.

Transportation Workers

The group includes all persons in Thailand engaged in transportation work—including railway and tram employees, boatmen, bus and truck drivers, dock workers, trishaw (*samlók* or *saamlók*) drivers, and taxicab drivers. There are about 66,000 workers in Thailand engaged in transport.

Some 23,000 workmen are employed on the waterways which are a vitally important means of communication as well as transportation. Much news and gossip is carried to the hinterland by the canal barge trains. The steam tugs and barges which ply the rivers and canals are manned predominately by Chinese. Chinese coolie labor largely supplies dock and port facilities.

Thai railway workers number about 16,000. Highway transportation is less important to the nation than other means of transport.

but nearly 20,000 men drive and service buses and trucks. (About 14,000 trucks are registered.) Many Indians are chauffeurs and taxi drivers. Recent laws forbid Chinese to drive taxis.

There has been considerable labor unrest among transport workers in recent years. Strikes have been waged by the Bangkok, tramway workers, the trishaw drivers, and employees of the State railway (including those of the *māgkāsān* shops). The first unions in Thailand were formed in the transport and shipping industries; and the strongest unions are still in transport.

References to Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand:

TRANSPORTATION WORKERS: *Principal References*, 316-377, 824-828; constituent ethnic groups, 103, 368, 763-764, 821; in Bangkok, 159, 160, 206, 830; living conditions, 382-385; organizational membership, 162, 394-398, 402-404, 406; role of, in the dissemination of information, 361; miscellaneous, 381.

Tribal Groups of the North

This group includes all members of the principal tribes of northern Thailand who are not assimilated by the dominant Thai culture.

The most important group among the Tibeto-Burmese tribal peoples of the North are the Karens, who number from 60,000 to 90,000. They are located mainly in northwestern Thailand along the Burma boundary, extending as far south as the Mekong River. In some districts they are almost the only inhabitants.

There are two main groups, named for the color of their garments. The White (*Sgaw* and *Pco*) Karens, predominant in number, are friendly, courteous, and kind. They are of medium height, and have long noses, full flat faces, and light brown skin. The Red (*Bghai*) Karens are small in stature, lean, and dark.

The Karens generally are a semimigratory people, many residing at elevations of approximately 3,000 feet. Those at the higher altitudes shift residences easily, while those in the plains tend to permanency. All rely on rice cultivation and supplement their income by hunting, fishing, cattle herding, and gardening. They occasionally come down into the plains to barter. They are fond of visiting friends near by, but seldom travel far. The Karen near Chiangmai, though influenced by the Thai, have not adopted Thai Buddhism but worship protective spirits. Only a few of the men speak Thai fairly well; others know only their own language. A few are Christians.

Other tribal groups include the *munuu*, *māw*, *jāw*, *lisuu*, and *lāwāa* of the Chiangmai-Chiangrai areas. These mountain or hill tribe peoples have come into Thailand from China, Burma, and Laos. They are distinct and aloof from the Thai. They reside high in the mountains where they practice a "slash-and-burn" agriculture, and

come into contact with the Thai only when they trade their cash crops, primarily opium, for silver or certain luxury items.

This group does not include the Shan (*thaj jàj*) who are sometimes called a tribal people. The Shan are ethnically related to the Thai and are part of the numerous and important group living in the Shan states in Burma.

References to Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand:

TRIBAL GROUPS OF THE NORTH: 12, 84, 93-96, 170, 225.

***University Students and Faculties**

This group consists of all Thai nationals who study, teach, or engage in research on a full-time or part-time basis at the Thai universities: Chulalongkorn (*chulalongkorn*), Thammasat (*thammásàad*), Kasetsart (*kàsèedsàad*) universities—including the medical schools of Siriraj (*siriràad*) and Chulalongkorn and the four-year teachers' colleges.

University connections carry such prestige that graduates, regardless of origin, usually achieve a place in the upper middle class or the elite. Moreover, recruiting and promotion in the bureaucracy is dependent on educational attainment. The primary aim of higher education in Thailand is to train people for government service rather than for positions in industry or commerce.

The Thai university system is based on Western models, although traditional rote learning and complete acceptance of the teachers' authority are still prevalent. Instruction is in the Thai language, but use of some textbooks in English makes knowledge of English necessary.

Many faculty members at Thai universities have advanced degrees from Western universities. They have heavy teaching loads, are given little time or encouragement to conduct advanced research, and receive very low salaries. They are accorded considerable prestige, however, as are teachers in general in Thailand.

The students have preserved or revived classic Thai culture while simultaneously seeking modern education. They also have a growing interest in politics which contrasts with the apathy of the population at large. In recent years the students' interest in politics has led to demonstrations or even riots over political issues. The Communists have tried to exploit this interest. Alumni associations, such as that of Chulalongkorn, have increasing influence, and provide a means of unified action which can have political effect.

References to Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand:

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES: Faculty, 157, 275, 284; foreign study, 257, 275, 535, 648, 656, 733, 775, 788, 793, 794; political role, 258, 284-285, 507, 531, 567, 590, 604; students, general—127, 266a, 273-275, 335, 339, 432, 441.

Vietnamese Minorities

This group consists of all ethnic Vietnamese residing in Thailand—primarily as refugees from the French-Viet Minh hostilities.

The number of Vietnamese in Thailand is estimated variously at from 50,000 to 100,000. By Thai law of 1950, all Vietnamese without registration papers have been ordered to reside in the five border provinces in northeastern Thailand. Although Communist North Vietnam has agreed to the repatriation of refugees, a majority will apparently stay in Thailand in the villages and communities established for them. This group constitutes a most pressing minority problem because of their cultural and political loyalty to an alien and hostile regime.

Individuals are strongly tied to the Vietnamese villages in Thailand and sometimes belong to underground movements which have pro-Viet Minh affiliations. Many Vietnamese in Thailand are members of a national welfare association, often patterned after Chinese secret societies and dominated by Vietnamese Communists.

Reportedly the Vietnamese have competed successfully in their own area against the Thai and the Chinese because of their industry, tenacity, and frugality. They engage in market gardening, freshwater fishing, wood carving, metalworking, and other village industries.

The Vietnamese have transplanted and preserved much of their own culture, which is similar to the Chinese. Due to the uprooting of the Vietnamese in Thailand, their primary social unit is the nuclear family, with strong clan ties. Paternal authority is absolute; women occupy inferior positions; ancestor worship is practiced.

Houses are usually built on the ground and are constructed of mud-stucco or brick.

References to *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*:

VIETNAMESE MINORITIES: General, 11-12, 73, 104-106, 370, 379; political role, 589-591, 596-598.

***Western-Educated Elite**

This group consists of all Thai who have received all or a substantial part of their higher education in Western Europe or the United States.

The influence of those who have been educated abroad is far disproportionate to their relatively small number. Western education affords great prestige and opportunities for financial advancement well beyond those opportunities afforded graduates of Thai universities.

During the past thirty years those educated in the West have carried out the "Promoters' " coup of 1932; attained high government positions; influenced the further Westernization of government and even urban daily life; and inculcated international artistic values.

This elite likes, and desires for Thailand, those things that are Western. They like to speak English in conversing with Americans and Englishmen as a matter of both efficiency and prestige. They seek, generally, to influence the country toward Neo-Buddhism (which emphasizes the social and altruistic principles of Buddhism). Most live and prefer to live in Bangkok.

The elite tend to band together and to join such organizations as the American Universities Alumni Association, the Old English Schoolboys' Association, and Rotary International.

References to Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand:

WESTERN EDUCATION ELITE: *Principal References*, Attitudes, general, 30, 31, 84, 107, 460; political, 478-482; foreign study or training, 257, 275, 648, 656, 733, 775, 788, 793, 794; historical background, v, 133, 261, 497, 507, 531, 653; leisure-time and cultural activities, 163, 235, 237, 249, 255, 257, 346; political role, 478, 481, 531, 576; religion, 329-330; miscellaneous, 127, 224, 448.

Women

This group includes all ethnic Thai women of voting age. In general women outnumber men in Thailand; above age 70 there is a significant preponderance of women, and they share the deference accorded old age. Women occupy a relatively high status in Thai society. Their rights of ownership, inheritance, and divorce are equal to those of men. They also have full political rights, although many women, especially those in rural areas, show even less interest in politics than do Thai men.

In rural areas women more frequently wear traditional dress, crop their hair close, and stain their teeth by chewing betel—but gradually Western dress is being adopted. In urban areas fashion is approximately the same as in the West.

There are a few formal organizations exclusively for women. Among those that exist are the Siamese Association of University Women, the Women Lawyers' Association, and the Thai Women's Association.

Polygamy, while occasionally practiced by the upper middle class and by wealthy farmers, is dying out. Women generally control the family finances.

Rural women contribute to the economy not only by farm work but by spinning cloth and producing household goods for family use or for sale at the village market. In urban areas women may be employed in government service, clerical work, domestic service, manufacturing, or construction; in general they avail themselves of opportunities open to men.

References to *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*:

WOMEN: General, 74-75, 212-213; economic role, 284, 363-366, 374, 382, 384, 463, 751, 831; health and welfare of, 281, 284, 380, 434-436, 439-440; in Bangkok, 107, 205-207, 224, 454-457, 830; in the village, 17, 29, 144, 146, 174-181, 184, 188, 202, 738, 744; leisure time activities, 251, 255, 340, 468; political role, 550, 602, 606; religious activities, 140, 325; role in the dissemination of information, 361; role in marriage and the family, 119, 190, 194-199, 419-420, 425.

Workers in Northern Forests

This group consists of all timber workers, mahouts (*mahout*), and others of permanent Thai residence employed in cutting teak and other timber. Some 8,000 people are employed in timber cutting in northern Thailand. Teak is the most valuable timber and teak forests are an important state property.

In the teak zone of the north, workers are primarily the foresters who select trees to be felled and girdle them two years in advance so that the wood will be sufficiently dry to float when actually cut. After the trees are felled, elephants are harnessed to the huge logs, which are dragged to the nearest waterway (the area is traversed by streams) for transport. Most of the foresters are Thai or Lao.

References to *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand*:

WORKERS IN THE NORTHERN FORESTS: General References, 373, 379, 731, 764-767, 852, 858.

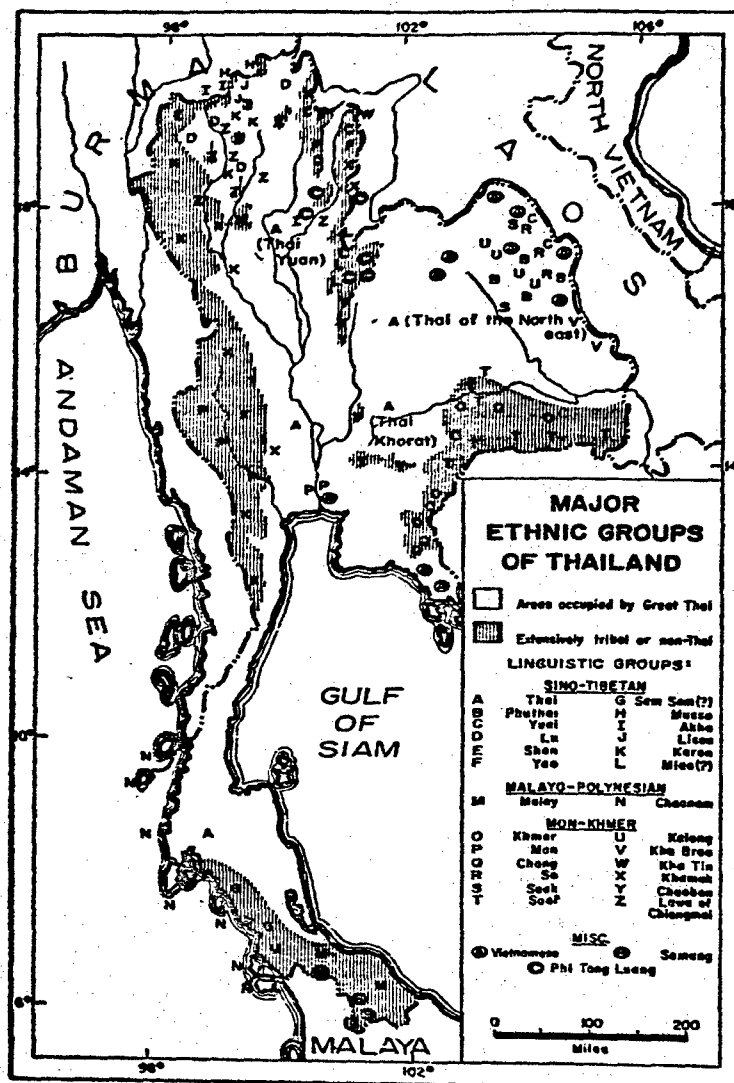


FIGURE 3.

SECTION III

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

Estimates of the opportunities for successful psychological operations in Thailand were prepared by a panel of three area specialists, working closely with the PROSYMS staff. The estimates are based on examination of the special-audience characteristics that are more or less enduring over time, in relation to ten specific psychological operations goals.

A psychological operations goal may be defined as a category of desired behavioral or mental effect which, if secured, will help a psychological operations objective. The specific goals selected for study are:

- Good will toward the United States
- Encouragement
- Compliance and cooperation with the United States
- Discouragement, defeatism, apathy
- Hostility toward and noncooperation with the enemy
- Discord
- Privatization
- Panic and disorganized behavior
- Subversion and resistance
- Surrender, defection, desertion.

The first three can be considered cohesive in purpose; that is, successful achievement of any of these three goals would strengthen or more closely unite the total society or the particular special audience. The remaining seven are divisive; successful achievement of any of them would either separate the individual from his group, separate the group from other groups, separate the group from the total society, or completely disorganize the group or the total society. Each estimate is preceded by a definition of the particular goal, in terms of the types of tasks which, if accomplished, would contribute to attaining the goal.

The estimates have purposely not been tied to the exigencies of an immediate situation. In the analysis it was assumed only that U.S. military forces have become involved in operations in Southeast Asia and that psychological operations in support of military objectives are being carried out.

As a first step the panel assessed the effectiveness of each special audience in relation to the aims of psychological operations. Effectiveness of a group—the degree to which the group can influence the aims, objectives, and capabilities of the nation—was assumed to be a constant factor in assessing opportunity (though susceptibility of a group might vary considerably across the several goals of psychological operations). In judging the effectiveness of a group the panel considered several factors, among which were (1) the group's size relative to the total society, (2) the group's cohesiveness—the sense of group identification, shared norms, etc., (3) the degree to which the group is organized, (4) the group's leadership, (5) the group's function in the society in wartime, (6) the group's prestige, and (7) the group's persuasive or coercive power, that is, its capacity to impose its will upon others.

Next the panel estimated the susceptibility of each group in relation to each goal of psychological operations—the degree to which the group can be influenced to respond in ways that will assist the accomplishment of a goal. Judgments were based on the *relative* position of each group considered separately under each goal. That is, a particular group might be rated "high" under a particular goal because it is *relatively* higher in susceptibility among the special audiences identified. This does not necessarily mean that the same group would be judged as "high" if considered in isolation on an absolute basis.

In making its estimates the panel paid special attention to two aspects of susceptibility—sensitivity and responsiveness. Sensitivity involves the nature and strength of the group's feelings about its own economic, political, and social status in the society and about its relations with other groups. Responsiveness involves the nature and strength of the group's feelings about the aims and policies of the United States, and about Americans in general (assuming that a message is identifiable as American).

In combination the judged effectiveness and susceptibility comprise the group's judged potential—the degree to which it presumably can assist in accomplishing a goal of psychological operations. This approach provides a useful basis for estimating the nature and extent of opportunities for accomplishing a particular goal.

As noted above, the estimates apply only to the adjudged positions of the identified groups in relation to a particular goal; they cannot be used for assessing the probability of accomplishing the goals in the country as a whole. Therefore, on the basis of the society's enduring characteristics the panel considered separately the opportunities for accomplishing the goals for the country as a whole. The opportunities for Thailand as a whole are judged to be as follows:

1. Goals of higher potential opportunity: compliance and coopera-

tion with the United States; good will; and discouragement, defeatism, apathy.

2. Goals of better than medium potential opportunity: surrender and desertion (military forces); encouragement; and privatization.

3. Goals of medium potential opportunity: panic and disorganized behavior; subversion and resistance; and hostility toward and non-cooperation with the enemy.

4. Goals of lower potential opportunity: discord.

In the analyses of opportunities which follow, the planner of psychological campaigns and the operator in the field are given an overall view of what it is possible to accomplish in psychological operations, given the nature of the society and of the groups which make it up. Relative opportunity ratings by special audiences are provided for each psychological operations goal in Tables 1-10; explanations of the ratings and other pertinent information are provided in the text.

ESTIMATES OF OPPORTUNITIES BY GOALS

Good Will Toward United States

The aim of this goal is to promote friendship and good will toward the United States both as a people and as a country; and to convince the people of the country that U.S. policy objectives are politically and economically desirable.

Thailand, in general, rates high in potential for appeals directed toward encouraging good will. A friendly attitude toward the United States has prevailed since the reign (mid 1800's) of King Mongkut (monküt). Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, American activities in Thailand were largely philanthropic rather than commercial. Between the two world wars an American, Francis Sayre, almost singlehandedly succeeded in persuading European nations to follow the lead of the United States in dropping the extra-territoriality clause from their treaties. Following World War II the United States championed the cause of Thailand in all international discussions. As a result, good will toward the United States reached a high pitch during that period. Although currently less intense, because of a complex of factors which so frequently arises when a large-scale economic and military aid program is carried on, good will is still fairly "universal." If Americans are present in the country, good will can be promoted by an understanding attitude and friendly overtures on their part.

Of the groups rated most effective in the country, those which contain the leaders and those which mold opinion, are most susceptible to this goal. These groups are the armed forces (political), administrators, Buddhist monks, university students and faculties, Western-educated elite, military officers, and professional classes.

Less effective groups that are highly susceptible to good-will appeals are the Central Thai, lay Buddhists, royalists, noncommissioned officers and workers of the Northern forests. The groups least susceptible to appeals of this sort are the Chinese, fishermen, Thai of the Northeast, tribal groups of the North, and the Vietnamese. Except for the tribal groups and fishermen, who rated low in susceptibility because of their lack of knowledge of the Western world, the groups which are least susceptible consists of dissident minorities.

Table 1. Thailand—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Good Will Toward U.S.		
Special-Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
<i>Relatively High:</i>		
Administrators.....	H	H
Armed Forces (Political).....	H	H
Buddhist Monks.....	H	H
Military—Officers.....	H	H
Professional Classes.....	H	H
Western-Educated Elite.....	H	H
University Students and Faculties.....	H	H
Central Thai.....	M	H
Lay Buddhists.....	M	H
Royalists.....	M	H
<i>Medium:</i>		
Workers of the Northern Forests.....	L	H
Mass-Media Personnel.....	M	M
Merchants.....	M	M
Military—NCO's.....	L	H
Transportation Workers.....	M	M
Women.....	M	M
<i>Relatively Low:</i>		
Thai Malay.....	L	M
Chinese.....	M	L
Military—Enlisted Men.....	L	M
Thai of the Northeast.....	M	L
Fishermen.....	L	L
Tribal Groups of the North.....	L	L
Vietnamese Minorities.....	L	L
Frontier Police—Not applicable.....		

H = Relatively high
M = Medium
L = Relatively low

Encouragement

The objective of this goal is to promote an expectation of success for the policies of the United States and its allies, to sustain the morale of elements which are friendly to such policies; and to identify popular or national aspirations with the aims of U.S. policy.

Thailand, in general, rates high in potential for appeals directed toward promoting an expectation of success for the policies of the United States and its allies. The Thai would respond to appeals for encouragement for most of the same reasons given under good will. An additional factor is the experience of recent history, which has seen the United States and its allies victorious in two wars and able to contain Communist aggression in a third. Further, the Thai people have had considerable opportunity to become familiar with American productive capacity, not only through knowledge of military equipment, which has gone to Thailand in considerable quantities, but also through the importation and distribution of American consumer goods, which are highly valued.

Table 2. Thailand—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Encouragement		
Special-Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
<i>Relatively High:</i>		
Administrators.....	H	H
Armed Forces (Political).....	H	H
Buddhist Monks.....	H	H
Military—Officers.....	H	H
Professional Classes.....	H	H
Western-Educated Elite.....	H	H
University Students and Faculties.....	H	H
Lay Buddhists.....	M	H
Royalists.....	M	H
<i>Medium:</i>		
Central Thai.....	M	M
Mass Media Personnel.....	M	M
Merchants.....	M	M
Transportation Workers.....	M	M
Women.....	M	M
<i>Relatively Low:</i>		
Workers of the Northern Forests.....	L	M
Chinese.....	M	L
Military—Enlisted Men.....	L	M
Military—NCO's.....	L	M
Tribal Groups of the North.....	L	M
Thai of the Northeast.....	M	L
Thai Malay.....	L	L
Fishermen.....	L	L
Vietnamese Minorities.....	L	L
Frontier Police—Not applicable.....		

H = Relatively high
M = Medium
L = Relatively low

All groups rated highest in effectiveness in the country are highly susceptible to this goal. They are the armed forces (political), administrators, Buddhist monks, university students and faculties, Western-educated elite, military officers, and professional classes. Less effective groups also highly susceptible are the lay Buddhists and royalists. The groups least susceptible to this appeal are the Chinese, fishermen, Thai of the Northeast, Thai Malay, and the Vietnamese, all of which with the exception of fishermen, comprise dissident minority groups.

Compliance and Cooperation With the United States

The aim of this goal is to secure acceptance of the orders or instructions or friendly national or local authorities, or those of U.S. military forces when these are present in the country; and to encourage and stimulate participation in programs sponsored by national authorities who are cooperating in the achievement of U.S. policies and aims and with programs of U.S. military forces.

Thailand as a whole rates high in susceptibility to this goal. The basically favorable predisposition of the Thai toward the American people and the U.S. Government, which has been elaborated under good will and encouragement, should facilitate obtaining compliance and cooperation. A basic characteristic of the Thai is to "bend with the wind" (*een lau*); so, confronted with a superior force, the Thai would tend to accept orders or instructions from the governing authority.

On the other hand, the operator should be alert to the practice, at which the Thai excel, of seeming to cooperate with authority while covertly resisting and even sabotaging the authorities' wishes or instructions. Such a practice would be minimized in a benign occupation, but would be greatly increased under an occupation which was harsh or widely disliked by the population.

All of the groups rated highest in effectiveness in the country are highly susceptible to this goal. Less effective groups also highly susceptible are the Central Thai, lay Buddhists, merchants, royalists, Thai Malay, women, noncommissioned officers and enlisted men. A great majority of the merchants are Chinese, and as such would tend to be uncooperative. However, their desire to protect their economic interests would make them compliant if not cooperative. Thai-Malay susceptibility depends on the absence of strong pan-Malay activity. The least susceptible group is the Vietnamese minority, which might use a crisis situation to increase their Communist activities.

Table 3. Thailand—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Compliance and Cooperation With the U.S.		
Special-Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
<i>Relatively High:</i>		
Administrators.....	H	H
Armed Forces (Political).....	H	H
Buddhist Monks.....	H	H
Military—Officers.....	H	H
Professional Classes.....	H	H
Western-Educated Elite.....	H	H
University Students and Facilities.....	H	H
Central Thai.....	M	H
Lay Buddhists.....	M	H
Merchants.....	M	H
Royalists.....	M	H
Women.....	M	H
<i>Medium:</i>		
Thai Malay.....	L	H
Chinese.....	M	M
Mass-Media Personnel.....	M	M
Military—Enlisted Men.....	L	H
Military—NCO's.....	L	H
Transportation Workers.....	M	M
Thai of the Northeast.....	M	M
<i>Relatively Low:</i>		
Workers of the Northern Forests.....	L	M
Fishermen.....	L	M
Tribal Groups of the North.....	L	M
Vietnamese Minorities.....	L	L
Frontier Police—Not applicable.....		

H = Relatively high
M = Medium
L = Relatively low

Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

The aim of this goal is to depress the morale of the inhabitants in order to reduce effective support of popular or national aims inimical to U.S. interests.

Thailand as a whole rates high in potential to this goal. The Thai would normally be opposed to extension of Chinese Communist influence because they fear Red China, dislike and distrust the Chinese minority in Thailand, and value their own political independence and personal freedom.

With the exception of the Buddhist monks, all of the groups rated highest in effectiveness are highly susceptible to this goal. Buddhist monks rated low because of their relative detachment from secular affairs and lay interests. Other groups rating low are the Chinese, fishermen, tribal groups, and Vietnamese minorities, all of which are either unconcerned with or unsympathetic to the main goals of Thai society.

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Table 4. Thailand—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy		
Special-Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
<i>Relatively High:</i>		
Administrators.....	H	H
Armed Forces (Political).....	H	H
Military—Officers.....	H	H
Professional Classes.....	H	H
Western-Educated Elite.....	H	H
University Students and Faculties.....	H	H
Lay Buddhists.....	M	H
Royalists.....	M	H
Thai of the Northeast.....	M	H
<i>Medium:</i>		
Buddhists Monks.....	H	L
Central Thai.....	M	M
Mass-Media Personnel.....	M	M
Merchants.....	M	M
Military—NCO's.....	L	H
Military—Enlisted Men.....	L	H
Transportation Workers.....	M	M
Women.....	M	M
<i>Relatively Low:</i>		
Thai Malay.....	L	M
Workers of the Northern Forests.....	L	M
Chinese.....	M	L
Fishermen.....	L	L
Tribal Groups of the North.....	L	L
Vietnamese Minorities.....	L	L
Frontier Police—Not applicable.....		

H = Relatively high
M = Medium
L = Relatively low

Hostility Toward and Noncooperation With the Enemy

The aim of this goal is to promote disbelief in the policies, aims, and ideologies of the local, national, or international authorities hostile to the United States and its aims; to uphold the traditional (and other existing) values which are opposed to such policies, aims, and ideologies; and to persuade individuals or groups to refuse economic or political collaboration with any authority hostile to the United States.

Thailand as a whole would be responsive to appeals based on upholding traditional values, less responsive to ideological appeals, and virtually unresponsive to appeals to refuse collaboration to enemies of the United States. The hold of traditionalism is still strong in Thailand. Traditional respect patterns, including respect for the

King, have not broken down. However, the Thai are not tradition-bound. Their approach is essentially pragmatic and they are not interested in ideological, theoretical arguments that lack clear and direct application to the Thai scene. By the same token they do not oppose collaboration, if it seems practical and will bring immediate benefits.

The groups rating highest in effectiveness that would be most susceptible to this appeal are the armed forces, administrators, professional classes, university students, and Western-educated elite. Groups least sympathetic are the Chinese, Thai of the Northeast, tribal groups of the North, Vietnamese minorities, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted men.

Table 5. Thailand—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Hostility to and Noncooperation With the Enemy		
Special-Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
<i>Relatively High:</i>		
Administrators.....	H	H
Armed Forces (Political).....	H	H
Professional Classes.....	H	H
Western-Educated Elite.....	H	H
University Students and Faculties.....	H	H
Buddhist Monks.....	H	M
Lay Buddhists.....	M	H
Military—Officers.....	H	M
Royalists.....	M	H
<i>Medium:</i>		
Central Thai.....	M	M
Mass-Media Personnel.....	M	M
Merchants.....	M	M
Transportation Workers.....	M	M
Women.....	M	M
<i>Relatively Low:</i>		
Thai Malay.....	L	M
Workers of the Northern Forests.....	L	M
Chinese.....	M	L
Fishermen.....	L	M
Thai of the Northeast.....	M	L
Military—Enlisted Men.....	L	L
Military—NCO's.....	L	L
Tribal Groups of the North.....	L	L
Vietnamese Minorities.....	L	L
Frontier Police—Not applicable.....		

H = Relatively high
M = Medium
L = Relatively low

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Discord

The aim of this goal is to promote dissension within a particular group; to promote conflict between groups; and to encourage disaffection by elements and individuals residing in a country whose government is hostile to the United States, its interests, aims, and policies.

Table 8. Thailand—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Discord		
Special-Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
<i>Relatively High:</i>		
Administrators.....	H	H
Armed Forces (Political).....	H	H
Military—Officers.....	H	H
Western-Educated Elite.....	H	H
University Students and Faculties.....	H	H
Professional Classes.....	H	M
Royalists.....	M	H
Thai of the Northeast.....	M	H
<i>Medium:</i>		
Buddhist Monks.....	H	L
Lay Buddhists.....	M	M
Mass-Media Personnel.....	M	M
Merchants.....	M	M
Transportation Workers.....	M	M
Women.....	M	M
<i>Relatively Low:</i>		
Central Thai.....	M	L
Chinese.....	M	L
Military—NCO's.....	L	M
Tribal Groups of the North.....	L	M
Thai Malay.....	L	L
Workers of the Northern Forests.....	L	L
Fishermen.....	L	L
Military—Enlisted Men.....	L	L
Vietnamese Minorities.....	L	L
Frontier Police—Not applicable.....		

H = Relatively high

M = Medium

L = Relatively low

Thailand as a whole is not particularly susceptible to an appeal to create discord, primarily because the Thai are a peaceful and moderate people. Their natural inclination is to avoid unpleasantness; their geographic and economic situation has militated against development of a competitive spirit, their religion teaches moderation, and their experience with living under a qualified dictatorship instills acceptance. This is not to say they cannot be aroused;

personal and professional rivalries exist within those groups high in effectiveness which are most susceptible—the armed forces, administrators, university students and faculties, the Western-educated elite, and military officers—which could be used to set their members against each other and against other groups. Less effective but high in susceptibility are the royalists and the Thai of the Northeast. Royalists would become the spearhead of dissension if the government or occupying authorities threatened the King and the Royal family. Thai of the Northeast would be more effective if their dissatisfaction reached the point of secession.

In general, mass-media personnel cannot be rated high; some of the newspapers have at times been Communist-oriented, and the press is highly quixotic. However, radio announcers could be highly effective in spreading discord. Least susceptible are Buddhist monks, Central Thai, Chinese, forestry workers, Thai Malay, fishermen, Vietnamese, and enlisted men. Both Buddhist monks and enlisted men are little susceptible because of their occupation and training; Central Thai because they are such an amorphous group that few issues interest them as a group; fishermen and forestry workers primarily because they are so isolated; the Chinese, Thai Malay, and Vietnamese because they are already disaffected.

Privatization

The aim of this goal is to intensify the individual's preoccupation with his personal situation (as opposed to his group identification) in order to reduce the effectiveness of his support of group and national objectives; and to encourage personal and local loyalties at the expense of larger loyalties—to political party, movement, or nations, for example, when these are opposed to United States aims.

Thailand as a whole has a high potential for privatization appeals. This stems from the strongly individualistic nature of Thai character. Relatively few formal or informal social organizations of real significance exist in Thailand; group loyalties beyond the family are not well developed. Hence, appeals to self-interest and personal considerations would strike a responsive chord in the Thai.

All of the groups rated most effective in the country are highly susceptible to this goal. They are the armed forces, administrators, Buddhist monks, professional classes, university students and faculties, and Western-educated elite. The high potential rating for Buddhist monks who as members of the Buddhist Order belong to one of the few important organizations in Thailand, reflects the individualistic nature of Theravada Buddhism. Each monk must seek his own road to nirvana; his prime responsibility is to himself and the cultivation of his own religious nature. Appeals might be carefully constructed to reemphasize and reinforce this personalized ideal; they would, however, have to be used very cautiously. It should be

remembered that the tasks ordinarily appropriate to the achievement of privatization in time of military operations would have little applicability to Buddhist monks.

Other elements in Thai society, though less effective than those groups mentioned above, would be highly responsive to privatization appeals. These include mass-media personnel and merchants and Thai of the Northeast, none of which have strong in-group feelings. Chinese merchants, it is believed, would generally sacrifice group loyalties to the Chinese minority to further or protect their own economic interests.

The only group rating low in susceptibility to privatization is comprised of the tribal groups of the North, where group loyalty is developed, and in fact necessary to group survival. However, their loyalty to Thailand as a whole is negligible, and they could easily be encouraged to remain disassociated from national policies.

Table 7. Thailand—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Privatization		
Special-Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
<i>Relatively High:</i>		
Administrators.....	H	H
Armed Forces (Political).....	H	H
Buddhist Monks.....	H	H
Professional Classes.....	H	H
Western-Educated Elite.....	H	H
University Students and Faculties.....	H	H
Mass-Media Personnel.....	M	H
Merchants.....	M	H
Military—Officers.....	H	M
Thai of the Northeast.....	M	H
<i>Medium:</i>		
Central Thai.....	M	M
Chinese.....	M	M
Lay Buddhists.....	M	M
Military—Enlisted Men.....	L	H
Royalists.....	M	M
Transportation Workers.....	M	M
Women.....	M	M
<i>Relatively Low:</i>		
Thai Malay.....	L	M
Workers of the Northern Forests.....	L	M
Fishermen.....	L	M
Military—NCO's.....	L	M
Vietnamese Minorities.....	L	M
Tribal Groups of the North.....	L	L
Frontier Police—Not applicable.....		

H = Relatively high
M = Medium
L = Relatively low

Panic and Disorganized Behavior

The aim of this goal is to promote nonpurposive or confused behavior by members of the special audiences. Extreme forms of such behavior may be considered to constitute panic.

For many of the same reasons listed under discord, Thailand as a whole is only moderately susceptible to appeals to promote confused or disorganized behavior. And the Thai would be unsusceptible to appeals to panic in the sense of sudden or violent action. On the other hand, it would be relatively easy to persuade individual farmers to withhold the rice crop, and to incite other persons to move about from place to place without direction, gather in groups, and spread rumors. In many groups, elimination or defection of the leaders would tend to leave the remainder quite without perceived purpose or direction and unable to carry on. Disorganized behavior would be most likely to occur when individuals' own self-interest was affected.

Lack of susceptibility of the country as a whole is heightened by only moderate susceptibility of certain highly effective groups—the armed forces, administrators, professional classes, military officers and Western-educated elite. In fact, the only group that combines high effectiveness and high susceptibility is that of university students and faculties. This group was rated high because students on occasion have demonstrated forms of disorganized behavior (the faculty, which is more disciplined, is small in number).

For this type of appeal, however, the university group might be broadened to include all well-educated young adults.

Highly susceptible but less effective under ordinary circumstances are the Chinese, the merchants, transportation workers, and Thai of the Northeast. The Chinese, both pro- and anti-Communist, would be inclined to disorganization if threatened by the opposite group. Merchants, including the Chinese, would be susceptible to the point of closing their shops if threatened and thus would become highly effective. Similarly, the transportation workers, who have been known to riot on occasion, would be highly effective if they were to panic. Since most of the *samlah* drivers come from the Northeast, a threat to that area would be a threat to them also. Northerners are already suspicious of the government and ruling cliques; they should be relatively easy to persuade. They have demonstrated disorganized behavior by deserting their homes in search of non-existent jobs in Bangkok. Least susceptible are the Buddhist monks, forestry workers, fishermen, tribal groups, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted men, for the reasons given under discord.

Table 8. Thailand—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Panic and Disorganized Behavior		
Special-Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
<i>Relatively High:</i>		
University Students and Faculties.....	H	H
Administrators.....	H	M
Armed Forces (Political).....	H	M
Chinese.....	M	H
Merchants.....	M	H
Military—Officers.....	H	M
Professional Classes.....	H	M
Transportation Workers.....	M	H
Western-Educated Elite.....	H	M
Thai of the Northeast.....	M	H
<i>Medium:</i>		
Buddhist Monks.....	H	L
Central Thai.....	M	M
Lay Buddhists.....	M	M
Mass-Media Personnel.....	M	M
Royalists.....	M	M
Women.....	M	M
<i>Relatively Low:</i>		
Thai Malay.....	L	M
Vietnamese Minorities.....	L	M
Workers of the Northern Forests.....	L	L
Fishermen.....	L	L
Military—Enlisted Men.....	L	L
Military—NCO's.....	L	L
Tribal Groups of the North.....	L	L
Frontier Police—Not applicable.....		

H = Relatively high
M = Medium
L = Relatively low

Subversion and Resistance

The aim of this goal is to encourage divisive and antisocial acts; and to promote and support resistance movements against authorities hostile to U.S. interests.

The Thai have only a medium susceptibility to appeals for subversion and resistance, particularly if the resistance called for would involve placing the participant's life or well-being in jeopardy. For subversive or resistance activity which did not entail appreciable risk and which might (as was the case during World War II) be carried on with the unofficial concurrence of the established Thai government, susceptibility would be somewhat higher. (In World War II appreciable Thai resistance did not begin until Japanese power showed signs of decline.)

Of the target groups rated highest in effectiveness, only the university students and faculties and the Western-educated elite, and

professional classes are rated as highly susceptible here. However, for this particular goal other groups which have been given a lower rating on overall effectiveness might be highly effective. The royalists, for example, could constitute a highly effective resistance group should the monarchy be threatened or overthrown, and should the King or a member of the royal family encourage resistance against the government then ruling Thailand. Likewise, the hill tribes could be a highly effective resistance group, and would be particularly susceptible to specially tailored, verbalized appeals in their own language. The frontier police, because of their specialized training and elite character, should be highly susceptible to appeals of this type and would probably be the most effective group for subversion and resistance if their character and training is comparable to that of the mid 1950's.

Table 9. Thailand—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Subversion and Resistance		
Special-Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
<i>Relatively High:</i>		
Professional Classes.....	H	H
Western-Educated Elite.....	H	H
University Students and Faculties.....	H	H
Frontier Police.....	M*	H
Administrators.....	H	M
Armed Forces (Political).....	H	M
Military—Officers.....	H	M
Royalists.....	M	H
<i>Medium:</i>		
Buddhist Monks.....	H	L
Central Thai.....	M	M
Lay Buddhists.....	M	M
Mass-Media Personnel.....	M	M
Transportation Workers.....	M	M
Tribal Groups of the North.....	L	H
Thai of the Northeast.....	M	M
<i>Relatively Low:</i>		
Thai Malay.....	L	M
Workers of the Northern Forests.....	L	M
Chinese.....	M	L
Fishermen.....	L	M
Merchants.....	M	L
Women.....	M	L
Military—Enlisted Men.....	L	L
Military—NCO's.....	L	L
Vietnamese Minorities.....	L	L

H = Relatively high

M = Medium

L = Relatively low

*The Frontier Police are rated generally only a little higher than medium, but for the goal of subversion and resistance, their effectiveness might be higher, thus raising their potential.

The Thai Malay and Thai of the Northeast, though not rated high in either effectiveness or susceptibility, might be considered for this particular goal because of their location in border areas and their affinity with ethnic groups in territories contiguous to Thailand.

Surrender, Defection, Desertion

The aim of this goal is to encourage desertion, defection, or surrender by individuals and groups in the military forces opposing the United States (when U.S. forces are present in the country); and to promote the defection of the country's military forces from any government or authority hostile to the United States.

The Thai in military service should be highly responsive to appeals for surrender and desertion. Buddhist religious doctrine reinforces the basic Thai attitude, which is one of avoidance of strife and conflict.

All of the groups rated highest in effectiveness (except for the Buddhist monks, who, of course, would not be in the armed forces) are believed to be highly susceptible to these goals. Each of these groups—the armed forces, administrators, professional classes, university professors and students, Western-educated elite, and military officers—would have an underlying sympathy with the West as a result of their extensive and satisfactory contacts with Americans in the past. Should they be in the armed forces, they would be confident that if they surrendered or deserted they would be well treated by Americans, and might very likely improve their material position.

Although given a rating of medium effectiveness, royalist groups would be highly susceptible to appeals to desert from an army supporting a government which threatened to depose, or had deposed, the King. Desertion of mass-media personnel serving in the armed forces would be particularly important for psychological operations. Such defections lend themselves to greater potential exploitation than those of other groups also having medium effectiveness.

Lay Buddhists rate high in susceptibility to this appeal because they probably would be greatly influenced by the nonviolence precepts of Buddhism. Workers in northern forests and fishermen—because of their isolated lives and independent means of livelihood—were also given a high rating for susceptibility to this appeal. Thai Malay and Thai of the Northeast were rated as highly susceptible because of their minority status and their disenchantment with the ruling circles of Bangkok. Military NCO's and enlisted men would have high susceptibility, particularly if their officers did not stand fast.

On the other hand, such Chinese as might find their way into the armed forces, either as individuals or in specially organized units, would probably be least susceptible to U.S. appeals for surrender. They would usually have some loyalty to Communist China, and would fear the treatment they would expect as prisoners of Americans.

Table 10. Thailand—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Surrender, Defection, Desertion		
Special-Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
<i>Relatively High:</i>		
Administrators.....	H	H
Armed Forces (Political).....	H	H
Military—Officers.....	H	H
Professional Classes.....	H	H
Western-Educated Elite.....	H	H
University Students and Faculties.....	H	H
Lay Buddhists.....	M	H
Mass-Media Personnel.....	M	H
Royalists.....	M	H
Thai of the Northeast.....	M	H
<i>Medium:</i>		
Thai Malay.....	L	H
Workers of the Northern Forests.....	L	H
Central Thai.....	M	M
Fishermen.....	L	H
Merchants.....	M	M
Military—NCO's.....	L	H
Military—Enlisted Men.....	L	H
Transportation Workers.....	M	M
<i>Relatively Low:</i>		
Chinese.....	M	L
Buddhist Monks.....	H	NA
Frontier Police.....	M	NA
Tribal Groups of the North.....	L	NA
Vietnamese Minorities.....	L	NA
Women.....	M	NA

H = Relatively high

M = Medium

L = Relatively low

NA = Not applicable since it is presumed that this group would not be members of the Thai military forces even in a crisis situation.

SECTION IV

ANALYSES OF SELECTED SPECIAL AUDIENCE

In this section the selected special audiences are examined by a panel of area specialists in terms of those group characteristics having a bearing on the conduct of psychological operations. Group characteristics which are not directly related to the conduct of psychological operations, however interesting they may be, are not included. These analyses were prepared by a panel of area specialists working closely with the PROSYMS staff.

Each analysis begins by describing the characteristics of the group which determine its effectiveness. This part of the analysis consists largely of the supporting reasons for the judgment previously made when estimating psychological opportunities. (See Section III, OPPORTUNITIES FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS.) The second part of the analysis, which discusses the susceptibility of the special audience, is guided by those psychological operations goals and tasks with which the operator may be concerned. Those vulnerabilities of the group which can be used as a means of accomplishing the goals and tasks of psychological operations are examined.

In Section VII, the appeal ideas of evaluated persuasiveness for accomplishing a selected set of tasks of psychological operations with each of the special audiences here analyzed will be presented.

Administrators

Effectiveness

The high degree of effectiveness of the administrators is based primarily on the fact that they are a large, organized group in Thailand and affect all elements of the population. The absence of well-established local-government units permits the central government to reach down into every community in ways not felt in countries that are not so centralized. Administrators, by their position, have the power to coerce, and even more often in Thailand than in some other countries a tactful and well-disposed official can be persuasive to a high degree. Their coercive power is somewhat reduced by the well-known Thai proclivity to feign compliance while actually resisting. Government officials have high prestige and, unless flagrantly corrupt or inefficient, generally command respect.

While in some communities others may take precedence, government officials are always among the leaders. Leadership among themselves is based on a hierarchy, and deference is accorded those in a higher position—as is true throughout the society. In a special class are irrigation officials; they are definitely leaders in their communities outside Bangkok. The Irrigation Department itself has a high place in the government, and its top officials have survived all political upheavals.

There is great interdepartmental and inter-ministry rivalry in the government, and in some cases noncooperation, although this is tending to break down. Certain externals give the civil servants a sense of belonging to a group; their ordinary dress is Western-type clothing—blouses and skirts for the women; white shirt, tie, and coat for the men; and uniforms for official occasions and while traveling. The group should not be conceived of as a strongly cohesive unit, though current United States-aided training in public administration, and frequent inter-ministry conferences draw its members closer together.

Administrators are prime communicators and in the remote rural areas are often the only sources of information. However, their predilection for service in Bangkok somewhat reduces their effectiveness as leaders in remote areas; the most able usually manage to return to the capital.

Susceptibility

The group is highly susceptible to United States influences. It is already Western-oriented. Since the nineteenth century the Thai government has had foreign advisers. Western and particularly United States influence has been predominant, especially in technical fields such as science, health, and irrigation. This is less true of education, although great changes are taking place in the educational system. Large numbers have benefited from United States and international training programs, and a fairly universal aspiration among administrators is to obtain grants to study in Western institutions of higher learning.

Administrators are probably most susceptible to the cohesive goals. Being secure in their jobs and already in positions of prestige, they are readily disposed to cooperate. A possible inhibiting factor may be government orders, but this is tempered by their ability to equivocate. Generally, they would be less susceptible to divisive goals. For example, the morale of government workers can easily be lowered, but they would still be inclined to do their jobs. The degree of privatization is high, however, because of their vested interest in their jobs. If inducted into the armed forces, they could readily be persuaded to surrender or desert in order to return sooner to their former posts.

One segment of the administrative group especially worth watching is the fundamental education organizers. Although small (only about 300 are working in the field) this group is unusually cohesive and dedicated.

Armed Forces (as Competitive Political Forces)

Effectiveness

The armed forces as competitive political forces constitute the most effective group in Thailand. This group probably includes a large number of commissioned officers in all branches (including the police). They are accorded great deference, since virtually all Thai recognize them as the prime source of political power in the country.

Two limitations on this group's effectiveness should be noted, however. The first is the division among the leadership, which frequently is split not only according to branch of service (army, navy, air force, and police), but also into intraservice factions which may cut across lines of service loyalty. Factions are organized primarily on the basis of personalities rather than ideologies.

A second limitation on the effectiveness of the armed forces (political) derives from civilian opposition to this group. A completely military dictatorship has never existed in Thailand; civilians have been included in every government. (No leaders, including monarchs, however, have ever remained in power without the support of the military.) Such groups as the royalists, professional classes, Western-educated elite, university students and faculties, and mass-media personnel have been exposed to influences which would cause them to oppose and reject an unbridled military dictatorship given to excesses in its dealing with the Thai people. Such potential opposition groups could not be expected to seize power from the military; however, by withholding support from the government, they could make its position untenable unless it were coerced or buttressed by massive military and economic support from an alien government.

Susceptibility

Training in Western methods and equipment has predisposed this group toward the West, and as long as its members were to believe the United States would remain supreme, they would be highly susceptible to appeals emanating from that source. Even if the outcome appeared to be in doubt, their sympathies would clearly be with the United States because of the traditional Thai dislike and fear of the Chinese colossus to the North. The group would, however, be much less inclined under these circumstances to take positive steps toward the action called for in the appeals.

Should the group come to believe that the United States would probably be defeated, most members of the group would be very low

in susceptibility to any American-originated appeals. Under such conditions, self-preservation—both individual and national—would be the dominant motivation; and nearly all members of this group would believe this could best be accomplished through accommodation rather than resistance (even though the Communist occupier were repugnant from an ideological and traditional standpoint).

Buddhist Monks

Effectiveness

The Buddhist monks constitute a very effective group in Thailand. The Buddhist Order is one of the largest and most important formal organizations in the country; it has a long history, a well-defined hierarchy, and a central leader, the Lord Patriarch. An essential element in the effectiveness of Thai Buddhism is the prestige of the yellow robe. Buddhism is the religion of virtually all Thai; the king must be a Buddhist; the Buddhist Order is supported by the state. The ideals of Thai Buddhism are universally accepted within the country. Furthermore, it is popularly believed that Buddhist monks bring "good" to society by simply being. A young man who enters the Order is said to bring "good" to his parents if he is single; to his wife if married. It is a Thai ideal that all men enter the Order at some time in their lives, to learn the Buddhist values and build up "good" for themselves and their families.

The monks have a strong in-group feeling; they are conscious of belonging to their local *vats* and to the Order as a whole. Their special rules of eating, dress, and behavior set them apart from the secular community and bind them to one another. Thai people outside the Order contribute to the cohesiveness of the monks by the special ways they act toward, speak to, and think of monks.

Because of the premium placed on the study of Buddhist scriptures, and as a result of their greater leisure, Thai Buddhist monks have a higher degree of literacy and are in general better educated, and better informed than the population as a whole. In rural Thailand, the monks are an important channel for secular news; they frequently relay information from available newspapers and other printed materials to the local population. Since monks do a considerable amount of traveling about the country (on pilgrimages, friendly visits, and as a result of transfer), they also carry much news by word of mouth from temple to temple and town to town.

In Thailand villages monks are frequently leaders in secular affairs. They are often called upon for counsel on personal matters by villagers and frequently give advice on community problems and issues. Rural monks are apt to be spokesmen for progress—better schools, roads, and irrigation projects.

While the effectiveness of Buddhist monks is very strong in some categories of action, in others it can hardly be said to exist at all.

They would not urge the lay population to take any action or adopt any attitude that was distinctly non-Buddhist. Nor would they assume the wholly out-of-character role of urging the lay population to hate or to commit violent acts. Monks would be relatively ineffective in achieving immediate, short-term, crisis goals; their influence on the Thai people is penetrating and long-range. They would, for example, be well suited to prepare the people for the eventual arrival of U.S. occupation forces, but unsuited to lead a quick evacuation of a village.

Susceptibility

Monks are highly susceptible to many Western appeals because they are tradition-minded, not interested in radical change, and have a large stake in the status quo. They would suffer by an extension of Communist doctrine and Communist practices in Thailand; some monks already realize this, and all would be susceptible to logical appeals based on this fact.

Buddhist monks are highly susceptible to appeals that fall within the limited range of what is considered acceptable behavior for monks. Their susceptibility would fall to nothing if they were urged to undertake tasks clearly not within the range of acceptable behavior; for example, leading resistance movements or promoting discord. Such appeals would have a boomerang effect: monks not only would *not* act contrary to their beliefs and religious customs, but they would be highly suspicious of those who urged them to do so.

Central Thai

Effectiveness

As a group the Central Thai is too amorphous, too heterogeneous to be highly effective. It is very large in size, but its members vary widely in occupation, relative wealth, educational attainments, and in many other ways. There is a great urban-rural difference between the Central Thai of Bangkok (commercial, cultural, and governmental heart of the country) and the Thai rice farmer in the Central Plain.

The most general characteristics of the group—its common dialect, its general cultural uniformity, its members' relatively influential position as inhabitants of the Thai heartland—are characteristics usually taken for granted. However, these are not characteristics that produce strong feelings of group loyalty or group cohesiveness.

The Central Thai have no group organization or group leadership. However, the great majority of government leaders are from Central Thailand, and in a sense they function as spokesmen for their group; as, for example, when they attempt to promote the Central Thai dialect as the national language. National standards are frequently equated with those of the Central Thai. And administrators from this

area, when they govern provinces outside the Central Plain, tend to resemble "colonial" administrators.

Susceptibility

Central Thai, as a group, cannot be regarded as strongly susceptible to U.S. propaganda. The reaction of this group to American appeals would closely resemble the reaction of the country as a whole. That is, the Central Thai would be generally well inclined toward the United States, but not easily influenced except by the most generalized appeals.

The group is not easily distinguishable from the inhabitants of the country as a whole. With the exception of some ethnic minorities, all elements in Thai society, are present in the Central Plain. Few, if any, of the characteristics that distinguish the Central Thai from the population as a whole would make the group more susceptible to propaganda. However, appeals that remind the Central Thai of the leading position they have always held in Thai society, such as reminders of the glories of Ayutthaya, may be more effective in the Central Plain than elsewhere in the country.

Chinese

Effectiveness

The Chinese have been rated medium in effectiveness as a group. As a minority group subjected to numerous restrictions—both economic and political—by the ruling Thai, their effectiveness should be quite low. This, however, is counterbalanced by a high effectiveness in the economic life of the country, which the Chinese dominate in spite of the restrictions placed on them (many Thai charge that they have a "strangle hold" on the economy). Thus, while the group has little prestige, it is accorded considerable respect by the Thai out of fear. This fear has two aspects: first, the vigor and vitality of the Chinese, their superior energy and ability, which seem to place the Thai in an unfavorable competitive position; second, they are regarded as a politically subversive group in any possible conflict with China.

Chinese effectiveness is limited also by lack of cohesive leadership and organization. The Chinese Chamber of Commerce serves as a focus of much of the organized activity of the Bangkok Chinese, and professes to be a spokesman for the Chinese community; however, it necessarily reflects the fragmentation of Chinese cultural and political life in Thailand. Other Chinese organizations are limited in scope and activity both by the fragmented character of the group and the obstructions placed by the ruling Thai. Chinese schools are limited by the Thai Government to the first four grades, and instruction in the Chinese language may not exceed 5 to 10 hours per week. The Chinese press, which circulates widely in the provinces and Bangkok, does provide a means of keeping the language and

culture alive and thus functions as one of the more cohesive forces.

The group is divided into a small pro-Kuomintang or Nationalist Chinese faction, a small, covert, pro-Communist China faction; and a large remaining group which professes to be politically apathetic and maintains the fence-sitting position popularly associated with Chinese communities in most countries. It is likely that the most effective Communist organization in Thailand is the pro-Communist faction of the Chinese community. (This organization is, of course, covert and little is known about it.)

At the same time, there are other cohesive forces in the Chinese community. The first derives from the group's minority status. A second is found in nationalistic feelings and affection for the Chinese homeland and culture. A third, which is both cohesive and divisive, is the common interest in business and economic matters. One aspect of this interest which demonstrates the effectiveness of the Chinese economic and commercial network in Thailand is shown in the ease and speed with which Communist Chinese products found their way into remote corners of the country after their import was permitted.

Susceptibility

The overall susceptibility of Chinese in Thailand to identifiably American appeals is low. This is as true of the large, politically uncommitted group as it is of the pro-Communist faction, where the susceptibility is either nil or negative. On the other hand, the susceptibility of the pro-Nationalist faction to American appeals would be relatively higher.

The generally low susceptibility to American appeals derives from a number of factors. One is the obvious sympathy which the Chinese would feel toward their motherland—whether Communist or non-Communist—in any conflict with the United States. A second is their traditional suspicion of propaganda in any form; and when it emanates from what they might consider a biased and potentially antagonistic source, the Chinese could not be expected to be influenced by it. Finally, no matter how carefully phrased, some of the appeals addressed to the Thai, under the conditions outlined in the research assumptions, would certainly be interpreted by the group as having anti-Chinese overtones—even if the appeals were not clearly hostile to them.

Special Comments

1. While susceptibility to most appeals identified as coming from U.S. sources would be low or negative, the possibility of having appeals emanate from Nationalist Chinese sources should not be overlooked, particularly where these would run parallel to U.S. appeals addressed to other groups. In most situations Nationalist Chinese appeals

would be more effective than U.S. appeals; however, the degree of effectiveness would depend largely on the fortunes and international standing of the Government of the Republic of China.

2. Assimilation of the Chinese community into the Sino-Thai and thence into the Thai community is proceeding. While the position described for this group should be valid for 1960, it is by no means certain that it would be in 1970.

Frontier Police

Effectiveness

Because they are by function limited to frontier areas, the frontier police are not considered particularly effective for any goal except subversion and resistance. However, since they have been specially trained in jungle and guerrilla warfare, they should be highly effective for this goal.

Susceptibility

Trained, equipped, and to some extent indoctrinated by Americans, the frontier police should be reasonably susceptible to appeals for subversion and resistance. Appeals should probably be made to this group as soon as possible after Thailand is occupied by or allied with an enemy. This timing is suggested in order to obtain an early commitment, and thus reduce their susceptibility to counter appeals and offers from the enemy.

Mass-Media Personnel

Mass-media personnel are only moderately effective for and susceptible to psychological operations. To discuss the group more fully, it is necessary to divide it into media subgroups.

Newspaper Personnel

Newspapers are a rather ineffective medium. The press personnel are unreliable and fluctuate in their orientation. Newspaper stories tend to be sensational, and are slanted according to the whim of the owner-publisher. With only a few notable exceptions, newspapers have little prestige or persuasiveness. Because of lack of transportation and the poverty and relative illiteracy of the rural people, they seldom reach the remote areas. However, in those few areas out of Bangkok where there is a public-library service, and in some schools, newspapers are avidly read; and in an increasing number of villages, wall newspapers are important in communicating government information and local news.

Reporters are a potentially cohesive group, but because of financial and political rivalry, they have not yet achieved cohesion. Low pay forces them to supplement their incomes, and this frequently involves sacrificing their integrity. There are, however, exceptions to the gen-

eral unreliability of newspapermen; for example, khýgkríð prasmóð is an influential, intelligent, sound writer and newspaper owner. The recently established journalism course in Chulalongkorn University may improve both the status and ability of reporters in the future.

For the same reasons that newspaper personnel are not high in effectiveness, they are not high in susceptibility to American-originated goals of psychological operations. The exceptions would be to the goals of privatization and surrender or desertion, if members of the group were inducted into the armed forces.

Other Writers

Writers of books are somewhat more effective than newspaper reporters. They are good communicators, have more personal integrity, and are more interested in social issues. While most of their work is fiction, some social-political information is conveyed through books. There is a professional association of book authors, with a continuous history; and its meetings are not purely social but are devoted to the exchange of ideas. However, there are adverse factors: the lack of an enforced copyright law, the absence of a genuine publishing industry, and the low royalties from sales of their books—all these reduce the attraction of the profession for many capable writers.

Although many magazines are owned by newspaper chains, there are a number of independents of fairly good quality and wide appeal. This is particularly true of women's magazines.

The government produces a large quantity of printed material in periodical and pamphlet form. This reaches a wider audience than the commercial press; hence it is more effective. However, this medium has not been developed to the extent it could be. Writers of pamphlets may be expected to rate high in susceptibility for accomplishment of the cohesive goals. If clandestine printing presses and channels of distribution could be established, pamphlet writers might also be susceptible and effective in the divisive goals—particularly to discouragement, discord, and subversion. As individuals, they would be highly susceptible to surrender and desertion appeals if inducted into the armed forces.

Radio Personnel

Since most of the radio industry is government-owned, radio personnel would be expected to follow the same behavior pattern toward psychological operations goals as the administrator class. In urban areas and small towns, radio is a more rapid channel of communication than newspapers; however, it hardly reaches some of the more remote rural areas, where few families own sets.

Television Personnel

This group is small in number and reaches a very limited audience of wealthy Bangkok Thai and their servants. Because of the shallow content of the programs, television is hardly a persuasive instrument among these viewers; many own sets simply for their prestige value. TV has potential value, however, as the audience is already Western-oriented, and importation of "Kinescoped" American programs may tend to keep it in touch with American thought. Personnel of the TV network are also somewhat Western-oriented, since most of them have had Western training.

Motion Picture Personnel

Moving pictures are a highly valued form of entertainment in Thailand. Their popularity makes them potentially an effective medium for ideas, but with few exceptions, this potential has not been developed. Thai actors and actresses have high prestige among the uneducated and, it is suspected, a higher prestige among the educated than the latter will admit. Movie personnel would be susceptible to the cohesive goals, but would not be so useful in the divisive goals. Except for privatization, and surrender and desertion, divisive goals would have little appeal.

Entertainers

Though not generally considered as mass-media personnel, entertainers in Thailand should be given special notice. Among the uneducated, *likee* troupes (folk dramatists) are highly effective and draw large audiences in both urban and rural areas. While their function is primarily to amuse, their Thai penchant for making and enjoying fun enables them to put across messages readily. Political criticism in this satirical form is not censored as it would be in newspapers; and the fact that many of the lines are ad libbed would make censorship difficult. *Moram* singers and dancers have great prestige among the entire populace in the Northeast. These combine entertainment and information and are an essential part of any audiovisual program. People in the audience may get a message from *moram* that would not reach them in any other way. Both *moram* and *likee* players are only moderately susceptible to U.S. psychological appeals because they will take from either side—the United States or its opponent—whatever suits their purpose.

Military Forces

Effectiveness

Taken as a whole, the military forces of Thailand may be considered as only a moderately effective group. The officer corps, many members of which are also members of that group identified as the armed

forces (political), is rated as highly effective; the NCO's and enlisted men much less so.

Altogether, the military establishment—army, navy, air force, marines, and police—constitutes the largest highly organized group in the country. At least for peacetime purposes, the organizational structure appears to be adequate. The armed forces are not entirely, and possibly not even primarily, used for defense; to a great extent they serve as a prop for the ruling clique or are utilized by factions striving to take over the reins of government. In recent years the armed forces as a whole have not been fully tested under combat conditions (in those instances where they have been in combat, some observers have noted that their performance depended largely upon the qualities of their leaders—with good leaders, they were effective fighting soldiers). It is difficult to predict with certainty how effective the leadership and organization would be if the armed forces should be called on to defend the country. When these forces have been used in the internal struggle for power, the leadership and organization have appeared to be highly effective in achieving the established goals while holding casualties to a bare minimum.

The cohesiveness of this group lies largely in its loyalty to the chosen branch of service. Senior officers may have some loyalties that cut across service ties, but these come into play primarily when the officers exercise a political role.

Prestige among officers is largely dependent on rank, the senior being accorded the greatest deference; in Thai society the status of the enlisted men is low. The persuasive power of the military is limited, but their coercive power is high in Thailand, where the people as a whole are little disposed to challenge effectively imposed authority.

Susceptibility

When the armed forces (political) are susceptible to established goals, then the military officers will be equally susceptible. Furthermore, NCO's and enlisted men may either be susceptible to the same goals or controlled or influenced by the officers, to whom they accord a high measure of deference, to respond to the same appeals.

All subgroups—officers, NCO's, enlisted men—have been given a high rating on susceptibility to goals of surrender and desertion. The NCO's and enlisted men could be influenced to surrender or desert if their officers took similar action. They might also, however, be persuaded to desert without their officers because of the easy-going, generally nonviolent Thai character, and because of the low pay and few amenities which they receive.

Professional Classes

Effectiveness

This group contains many of the administrators and the Western-educated elite, and generally has the same characteristics as those

groups. It is fairly large, as most educated Thai enter the professions rather than business. It is cohesive in that its members share a certain pride in belonging to a profession; many come from the same or related families and they tend to concentrate in Bangkok. There are a number of professional organizations—such as the Teachers' Association—which hold the membership together and are important channels of communication. Many members of the professional classes belong to organizations such as the alumni associations of the various universities.

Within each profession leadership is based on rank and performance, with competence being a more important factor than in some other occupations. Members of certain key professions may have a certain amount of coercive power, but they are little inclined to use it for political purposes. Their persuasive power in their own fields is high, but since this group as such has generally kept out of politics, transfer of their authority to political action has not been tested. The technical competence of irrigation engineers has won them a high place among the administrators, and the essential nature of their work gives them intrinsic power not shared by all professions.

Susceptibility

Professional people are high in susceptibility, being both Western oriented and more patriotic than some other groups. Most know the English language; they are likely to be acquainted with Western thought through professional publications where these are available. They welcome challenge and, relative to the rest of Thai society, do not shun hard work. Appeals directed to individual, professional, or group responsibility, calling for efforts or decisions which should help ensure Thailand's place as a modern, progressive nation while maintaining its own cultural entity, are almost certain to arouse action.

Both their effectiveness and susceptibility would be greater toward appeals for long-range projects, particularly in a situation where the country was occupied by U.S. forces. They would be least susceptible to appeals based on creating discord and disorganization.

Royalists

Effectiveness

The royalists are not a very effective group in Thailand. Under the absolute monarchy they possessed dominant power, but since 1932 they have consistently yielded to the pressures of nonroyalist civilian and military leaders. Such effectiveness as this group may have derives from its traditional position rather than from any significant contribution to present-day national life.

The group is not large, and its number is decreasing. Households of recent kings and princes have been far smaller than those of royal families a century ago; and nobles are no longer appointed by the

King. The royalists, however, are a very cohesive group. Although they lack a formal organization, many are members of various administrative and consultative units of the King's household, and many are members of the royal entourage.

Most important in preserving and promoting cohesiveness among the royalists, however, is the person of the King. The King is not an active leader, although on recent occasions he has acted positively and there are indications that he might become more active. Rather, he is the living symbol of royalist hopes and aspirations. He is also recognized by all Thai as the head of the state. The King continues to perform many traditional Thai ceremonies and is deferred to by all; even dominant political and military leaders accord him at least token respect. His authority is invoked as an important sanction for governmental actions that could scarcely be justified on parliamentary or constitutional grounds.

The prestige of royalists is very high. The royalists are the old elite of the country—the representatives of, and spokesmen for, the highly regarded traditional values. As a group they possess persuasive powers in the country as a whole, but no coercive powers.

The royalists possess a high potential for becoming much more effective in Thailand than they now are. The essential element in any such change is the King. If the King dared to become an aggressive leader, and were permitted to do so by the ruling clique, the influence of the royalist group would, of course, quickly increase. Without strong leadership from the King, however, there is little chance for royalist effectiveness to grow.

Susceptibility

In Thailand the royalists are certainly the group most susceptible to U.S. appeals. They have the most to lose in the event of a Communist victory in Thailand. Furthermore, the group is aware of this. The basic sympathies of the royalists are clearly with the West, and the West in turn has made clear its support for the royalist tradition. The vast majority of the royalists have been to schools in the West, and many have maintained close ties with Westerners.

Special Comment

Appeals based on respect for the monarchy have general application throughout Thailand.

University Students and Faculties

Effectiveness

Though potentially high in effectiveness, this group is probably the least effective of the groups given a high rating. It is fairly large in size; there are about 31,000 students and 1,500 faculty members in

Thailand. Although alumni associations and other smaller organizations exist, the group lacks any centralized, all-embracing organization. There is, however, a fairly high degree of cohesiveness among group members: not only do university students and instructors identify themselves with others of their respective subgroup; strong ties also exist between teachers and students. Teachers command great respect among students. To a degree the old master-disciple (*khruu*) relationship still exists. The teacher-student bond often continues long after the student leaves school; a teacher may retain a devoted following of former students who are well inclined to accept his advice and share his opinions.

Faculty members possess high prestige. Students, on the other hand, do not, because in Thailand age and rank are more important criteria for respect than is education. University students in Thailand, however, do eventually assume most of the leading positions in the society, and most members of all the more effective groups in the society were at one time university students. Therefore, appeals directed to university students should as a rule be aimed at long-range rather than immediate goals.

In recent years university students in Thailand have shown some inclination to play a more prominent political role than they have played in the past. It is doubtful, however, that they would be effective if they attempted to exert real leadership in the country at this time and stage of development. Students could play an important role in covert movements (as their performance in support of activities of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services in World War II has shown), but they could not be expected to lead the people in any concerted action.

Susceptibility

University faculty members are susceptible to U.S. appeals to much the same degree and for much the same reasons as the professional classes and the Western-educated elite. That is, they are generally pro-Western. Many have received higher education in the West, and many are relatively well informed on the meaning of the Communist threat.

University students are also fairly susceptible to U.S. appeals. They are impressionable; they are sensitive to political and international affairs; and they are discontented with the status quo in Thailand. Therefore, they are vulnerable to any message that is convincing and inspiring, and that appeals to their growing consciousness of Thailand as a nation. A number of students are predisposed toward the United States; many come from upper-class homes where some member of the family has been to Europe or America. By no means, however, are all basically pro-American. Some Thai students

are known to have absorbed leftist ideas and to be receptive to the Communist line.

Thai students, to judge by some of the recent political demonstrations and rallies they have staged, are becoming more inclined to take the bold step, to do the stirring patriotic deed. Appeals aimed at this susceptibility, however, are probably advisable only if the goals are to produce discord or disorderly behavior.

Western-Educated Elite

Effectiveness

The members of the Western-educated elite derive their high effectiveness from the prestige and psychological quality of their Western education—and not (as in some other groups) from the ordinary bonds of common profession or occupation, political affiliation, or ethnic origin. Hence, many members of this group are to be found in the armed forces, administrators, professional classes, and university faculties.

Although small, the group is increasing rapidly and its influence is disproportionate to its size. Primarily, this influence derives from the respect for education in Thailand and the promotions this respect affords, particularly for the Western-educated. Those who have the opportunity to study abroad prefer American and British schools. This stems in part from the general preference for the West over neighboring countries, and also from the feeling that the Thai are superior to other Asian peoples. Those who have been educated in the West have been taught to think for themselves, which gives them an advantage over other Thai in situations calling for decisions. The group is cohesive in a negative rather than a positive sense; they hold in common a distrust of the abilities of graduates of local universities.

Their numerous organizations, largely social, are based on the geographic areas of their study; of these, the American Association of University Alumni and the Old English Students' Association are the largest. The American Association of University Alumni sponsors a bi-national center, which, through its English-teaching program, orients many persons from other groups—especially administrators, members of the armed forces, and Buddhist monks—toward the United States. On the fringes of the Western-educated elite are those who have traveled but have not studied abroad.

Susceptibility

This group is highly susceptible to appeals that would play on their Western ties and orientation. In preparing such appeals, care must be exercised to address the British-educated as well as the American-educated. The only appeal to which they would not be particularly susceptible is one inciting them to panic or to behave

in a disorganized manner, because their ability to think would deter them from so doing. Particularly good channels for American appeals would be the AAUA, which sponsors the bi-national center, and the Fulbright Alumni Association, whose meetings in addition to being social gatherings have some intellectual content. This group will remain highly susceptible if contact with the West has been maintained constantly.

Thailand as a Whole (Special Comment)

The following comments (treating of susceptibility only) are set forth for the guidance of the operator in approaching the society on the broadest possible level of generality. With such a purpose in mind, the country as a whole can be considered as a "special audience."

Susceptibility

Thailand as a whole has been given high and medium ratings for potential responsiveness to most of the goals of psychological operations. The high ratings will be valid, however, only when the outlook for U.S. victory, immediate or eventual, appears to the Thai to be favorable. Should the country as a whole come to believe that the U.S. would probably lose the war, Thai susceptibility to most of the goals would be very low. And even if the people are convinced of an ultimate U.S. victory, the task of psychological operations will not be easy. Deeds will be much more meaningful to the Thai than words, and wherever possible, appeals should be tied in with concrete actions which demonstrate American capability and essential friendliness toward Thailand.

Furthermore, the relatively high ratings in susceptibility to most goals should not imply that any sort of appeal will do. All appeals should be carefully pretested on as broad a cross section of Thai society as possible, and the Thai tendency to avoid saying anything unpleasant or uncomplimentary should be borne in mind.

The anti-Communist campaign carried out from 1954 to 1956 offers an example of an expensive operation that many observers believe failed, and critical assessments as well as official reports of this operation should be carefully studied by the operator. A synthesis of critical comment might run as follows: while the American operators of this campaign were aware of the strong Thai attachments to King, Buddha, and country, most of them lacked detailed knowledge of the language and culture of the country; hence they relied on Thai advisers, who told them what they thought the Americans wanted to hear. These advisers permitted such errors as showing a man dressed in Buddhist monk's clothing being pilloried by the Communists, which led to great indignation by many good Buddhists against the propagandists and *not* the Communists. With their increasing involvement

in and dedication to the campaign, the advisers allowed it to be carried on in a heavy-handed, solemn manner, forgetting that the Thai people like to smile.

A high correlation exists between the susceptibility of Thailand as a whole and that of the Central Thai. This results largely from the fact that the ethnic and sectional minority groups generally would have low or negative susceptibility to many of the appeals addressed to the Thai. The Chinese and Vietnamese would find little to persuade them in U.S. appeals addressed to Thailand. Thai-Malay would be somewhat more susceptible to generalized appeals, while Thai of the Northeast would, because of their close ethnic affinity and higher degree of assimilation, be much more susceptible to appeals addressed to Thailand as a whole than would any of the distinctively ethnic minority groups.

Generally speaking, appeals in support of the King or in defense of the Buddhist religion and Buddhist institutions will have the widest application, and will be least likely to offend or to have a boomerang effect through adverse reactions of particular groups. These appeals must, however, take account of the culture and psychology of the Thai people; merely mentioning the King or Buddha does not ensure acceptance of an appeal. As the illustration from the 1954-56 campaign shows, such an appeal could have a boomerang effect if it has not been carefully thought out, framed, and pretested.

As a general rule, the Thai will be much more susceptible to appeals which seek to immobilize than to those which call for immediate and violent action; they will also be much more responsive to those which call for cohesive rather than divisive behavior.

In developing appeals it should be borne in mind that the Thai abhor being put in ridiculous situations—to be ridiculous is to be disgraced; the poor, unfortunate dolt who is cheated is ridiculed more than the cheater is censured.

SECTION V

COMMUNICATIONS INFORMATION

In order to communicate effectively to an audience, it is necessary to know *what* to say. Effective communication also requires knowledge of *how* to present the message to increase the probability that it will be understood and accepted. This section is concerned with the design of messages and the selection of media, i.e., with questions of style and format and the relative effectiveness and advantages of various media. Its purpose is to furnish the psychological operator with information relevant to the preparation of messages directed to the Thai population in general and, in cases of group variation, to members of particular special audiences. It suggests answers to such questions as: What medium is generally the most persuasive in Thailand? How should an operator address the members of a particular group? What kind of printing is best for leaflets? Are there any stereotypes of a group which can be used effectively?

The material is arranged respectively under the broad topics of media and related considerations, manner and forms of address, methods of approach, cultural values or traits in communications, and attitudes in Thailand toward the United States. Information pertaining to the country as a whole is first provided for each topic. (In this context, "country as a whole" refers to those nationals of Thailand who follow the customs of the country in social intercourse and who speak the Thai language and identify themselves more with the Thai nation than with a tribe or another nationality. Thus, the term includes those members of other ethnic groups—for example, Chinese, Thai Malay, Vietnamese—who meet the definition.) The information for the country as a whole on each topic is followed by any exceptions or additions that apply specifically to particular groups.

The information, then, falls into two broad categories: media and cultural aspects of communication. First, background information is supplied in Table 11, which reflects composite judgments as to the relative effectiveness of various media for particular groups in the population. This is followed by discussion of the more common and useful media. Later subsections treat social values, customs, and other aspects of the culture that should be taken into consideration by the psychological operator. The comparative effectiveness of various approaches is shown in Table 12.

Information has been contributed by numerous consultants chosen because of their area knowledge, their understanding of selected audiences, and, in some instances, their own experience in the mass media of the country. Obtained through a long, structured series of questions, the data were then collated by the SORO research staff. As much as possible of the actual phraseology of the consultants was retained, to preserve the subtlety of meaning.

In some topics a final section has been added which sets forth cautions regarding certain actions, methods, or other particulars. These admonitions should be used with those in Section VIII, INJUNCTIONS; they have been presented in this section because of their particular relevance to the topic at hand.

MEDIA INFORMATION

Relative Effectiveness

The brief textual treatment of certain communications media at this point is intended simply as background for the numerical ratings given in Table 11. It should not be taken as a summary of the discussion of media facilities provided later.

Rated media include those believed most likely to be widely applicable to the military situations outlined in the research assumptions. (See Section I.) They are also those media which the consultants felt could be evaluated most precisely in terms of the probable effectiveness for psychological operations. Originally, the SORO staff requested ratings and comments from consultants for a specific list of media deemed generally applicable in a military situation. Consultants were then invited to add and rate media they thought especially appropriate for Thailand. One medium, motion pictures, was added by the consultants working with some of the special audiences and not by other consultants, and is therefore not rated for all groups. Comments were made on speakers and regional entertainers as media, but ratings were not supplied.

The ratings represent impressionistic judgments by the consultants, acknowledged experts on Thailand whose backgrounds include residence in the country and personal acquaintance with a cross-section of the population. In some instances, these judgments are supported by experimental evidence—previous studies that dealt specifically with media appropriate to psychological operations.

Media for the COUNTRY AS A WHOLE were rated by 17 consultants. Panels of from two to four consultants provided ratings for the other special audiences. Consultants rated the media for comparative persuasiveness on a scale ranging from 1 to 5. The table presents the average ratings for each special audience rounded to the nearest tenth. Because the ratings for each special audience

were supplied by a different panel of consultants, comparisons must be restricted to the effectiveness of the various media for each separate special audience.

The ratings are relative. That is, a higher or lower rating for a medium indicates its probable relative effectiveness compared with other media for the particular audience. The ratings are meant to be suggestive only, since final choice of media would, of course, depend on considerations outside the scope of research, and certain circumstances could change the comparative effectiveness. (For example, if the regime's success in jamming radio broadcasts was such as to make radio useless as a medium for psychological operations, the population's dependence on newsheets and other written materials, and hence the effectiveness of these media, would increase.)

Table 11. Thailand—Relative effectiveness of media by audience *

	Word-of-mouth	Radio	Television	Newsheets	Pamphlets	Handouts	Posters	Leaflets	Motion Pictures
Country as a Whole ^b	4.7	3.6	3.1	2.8	2.1	2.1	3.3	3.4	5.0
Administrators.....	4.5	4.5	4.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	5.0
Armed Forces (political).....	3.0	3.5	4.0	4.0	4.5	3.5	2.5	2.0	(*)
Buddhist Monks.....	5.0	3.0	2.8	2.8	4.0	3.5	3.0	3.2	(*)
Central Thai.....	5.0	5.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	4.5	(*)
Chinese.....	4.7	2.0	2.7	3.7	2.3	1.7	2.7	1.7	(*)
Mass-Media Personnel.....	4.0	3.5	3.5	4.5	3.5	2.5	3.0	2.5	5.0
Military:									
Enlisted Men.....	4.0	4.0	2.0	4.5	4.0	3.0	2.0	3.5	(*)
Officers.....	3.3	4.0	3.5	4.0	3.5	2.5	2.5	2.7	(*)
Professional Classes.....	5.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	1.5	4.0
Royalists.....	4.5	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	1.5	1.5	1.0	4.0
University Students and faculties.....	5.0	4.5	3.2	3.5	3.5	2.2	2.5	2.0	4.3
Western-Educated Elite.....	5.0	3.5	3.5	3.0	4.0	3.5	2.0	1.0	4.0

* Compare across by column; indicates relative effectiveness by audience.

^b Rated as a separate audience; not a compilation.

* Ratings for this medium not supplied for all special audiences.

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Word-of-mouth communication is considered extremely persuasive. This may result partly from the Thai sense of personal loyalty. Also, the size of families and the amazing number of interfamily relationships provide a most efficient grapevine. Most Thai love to gossip and pass on various kinds of rumors and reports. Groups of lower education, such as the servant class, may be less skeptical of news and opinions spread through this channel than more sophisticated persons. While word-of-mouth communication may be very effective, it may also be slow.

Radio is government controlled and broadcasts are customarily identified as propaganda; however, this could be offset by long-range efforts to establish credibility by balanced, factually reliable, honest reporting. The persuasiveness and influence of radio and *newspapers* in Thailand have been the subject of at least two previous studies, one done by the U.S. Information Service in Bangkok. While the credibility of the two media is nearly on a par, radio appears to have a slight edge. Radio has been remarked upon as far superior as an advertising medium, perhaps because the Thai tend to personalize the radio and think of it as another Thai addressing them directly.

Television is seen only in Bangkok; and, even there, the hours are limited and sets are not common. The popularity of television at those coffee shops which have sets indicates possible high persuasiveness, or popularity, should television sets be generally available.

Pamphlets must be kept simple to be usable. However, in rural areas the written word is at best not very effective, because of the number of semiliterates.

Printed *handouts* can be effective provided they reach a wide audience.

Posters apparently have not been used to any extent in the country except for propaganda purposes, and then usually by foreign elements. Hence, they seem likely to be suspect among some groups. However, an effective poster campaign could overcome this residue of suspicion.

Thai are accustomed to *loudspeakers*. Effectiveness depends upon content of the message and the personality of the speaker.

Under ordinary circumstances *motion pictures* lead all media in effectiveness. Keeness for motion pictures is universal in Thailand; in the words of a Thai graduate student in the United States, "If we didn't like the movies, we wouldn't be Thai." This is substantiated by practical experience. In 1954-56, by request of the Thai Government, USIS Thailand cooperated in a psychological indoctrination program carried to the village level. The media tested included speeches, posters, pamphlets, leaflets, and movies; and of these, movies had the greatest impact. Since the Thai expect movies to be entertainment, it is not known whether they would respond to direct appeals presented by this medium; however, movies would supply a ready-made audience and might also be useful in creating good will.

The formal *speech* is valuable, as the Thai enjoy a good speech. But ultimate effectiveness rests with the speaker.

Regional entertainers (like troupes in the villages, *mooram* singers in south and central Thailand) may be effective means of persuasion in local situations.

ADMINISTRATORS: The tendency of administrators to sneak away from their jobs to see movies once became an issue in the press. Administrators are more receptive to government-sponsored radio-TV than to newspapers; the more radical leftist antigovernment

newspapers are perceived as unreliable and inaccurate; progovernment ones as inconsistent and often equally inaccurate.

BUDDHIST MONKS: The Buddhist clergy, with their relatively higher literacy and penchant for learning, are eager for all sorts of reading material, especially if it is illustrated. Journals with a Buddhist orientation are an effective medium.

MASS-MEDIA PERSONNEL: Newsheets and pamphlets would be very persuasive and have high acceptance among this group.

PROFESSIONAL CLASSES: While professional people enjoy movies, they are often too poor or too busy to attend often.

ROYALISTS: Word-of-mouth is probably the only really effective approach. Royalists would react negatively to any program perceived as casting reflection on, or presenting with less than desired dignity, the Throne or Siam's past history.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES: Thai students can be swayed through almost any medium if the content appeals to them. However, members of the faculties are respected by the students who would be inclined to pay heed to what they might say on any issue.

DISCUSSION OF FACILITIES

Radio

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Almost every village has at least one radio, which takes the place of the newspaper for the isolated and the semiliterate.

Ordinarily, *political* programs on radio are straight announcements or speeches. Acceptability of political interpretations and commentary depends on the listener. On questions of policy, a government spokesman would be considered more authoritative by the Thai generally, whereas the CHINESE would give more credence to professional news commentators or observers.

As to insinuation of political commentary into entertainment programs, there seems no clear-cut attitude among the consultants. Its effectiveness would appear to depend mostly on the subtlety of the script-writer or announcer. In *likee*, ad-lib satire is often introduced. However, an American using such a technique for political purposes would have to be fluent in the language and would have to have the complete confidence of the *likee* troupe selected to present the satire. Attempts in the past to use *likee* for propaganda have been clumsy and ineffective.

The Thai would accept considerable deliberate selection (of news items, for example) by the American communicator (since they are accustomed to selection in party-owned newspapers and government-owned radio).

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Thai generally have no strong feelings regarding American criticism of American events and policies; they would be more interested in American opinions of the Thai.

In the field of *nonpolitical* programming, broadcasts of music (including American), straight news commentary, drama, entertainment, and human-interest programs would all be well received. "Music for Housewives," combining music with home economics, has been popular. (See, also, *MUSIC*.) Travelogues by Thai who have visited in the United States would be of general interest. Programs with appeal to specific groups are as follows:

ARMED FORCES (political and MILITARY): The military forces have their own radio station. While used for transmission to the general public, it could be especially useful for broadcasting to troops outside of Bangkok. Radio is an important medium to these groups. U.S. broadcasts of political developments and important military actions would be of major interest under wartime conditions.

BUDDHIST MONKS: Buddhist monks would favor radio programs of sermons by well-qualified Buddhist monks, and Buddhist news. Otherwise, they would be receptive to straight news, information, and feature material. Monks at present seem only mildly interested in political commentary, except where their own interests are involved. In any case, monks are also individuals who can be influenced as individuals.

CHINESE: The Chinese are accustomed to political commentary in entertainment programs, but find it offensive, because they perceive it as propaganda. However, news and commentary could be given *between* entertainment programs without antagonizing them.

Straight, unslanted news is recommended, since the listeners are reasonably good at spotting propaganda. Humor and drama are also appreciated. (See, also, *MUSIC*.)

ROYALISTS: Historical plays appeal to royalists. (See, also, *MUSIC*.)

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES: The university community would respond to educational programs, particularly those depicting American political institutions such as elections and town meetings. The Thai word *prachaathipataj* (democracy) is almost a magic password among this group, so programs depicting *prachaathipataj* should be very favorably received.

Newspapers

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: As a mass medium the newspaper seems to be effective with some literate or quasi-literate groups, but, in general, effectiveness is not widespread. Although there are some twenty papers, they share a total daily circulation of only approximately 100,000 (however, the copies are frequently passed from hand to hand). Newspapers are not widely distributed outside of Bang-

kok. The literacy level varies greatly throughout the country. Many persons are illiterate or only semiliterate and, seeing no papers, learn little outside news at first hand. Frequently in villages, only the monk or the schoolteacher can read, and the rest depend on him for information.

Most editorials are not taken seriously by the intelligentsia, because nearly all papers represent one clique or another.

As to types of news, the general public first reads items of sensation, superstition, wonders (flying saucers and earth satellites, for example), human interest, local personalities, adventure, and corruption. In descending order, most are interested in news which affect them personally, news of their own country, Asian news, and world news. Better educated groups are more interested than others in international, political, economic, and technical developments, news on social problems, and religious news of consequence to the Thai people.

Special groups naturally respond to news according to their own interests (for example, BUDDHISTS to religious items; CHINESE to news about Chinese personalities, mainland China, and events affecting Chinese interests in Thailand; ROYALISTS to stories about local and European royalty).

With regard to foreign news, generally there is considerable interest in news of other Asian countries; some interest in the United States, Russian, and European affairs; and no appreciable interest in events in Africa.

In a country where street sales predominate, the general public prefers tabloid-style, sensationalistic newspapers (of which the *Daily Mail* was a good example). Tabloid-style papers have screaming banner headlines in big-point print. Generally the front page contains a considerable amount of art work—both badly reproduced photographs (owing to the very poor quality of paper) and cartoons in questionable taste. Sensationalistic and editorialized news appears on the front page, serious news on inside pages.

Most Thai newspapers differ little in appearance, although there is generally considerable variety within a particular paper. Tabloid-size papers are rare in Thailand. In other respects, papers have been influenced by Western format; however, compared with American printed materials, Thai newspaper and magazine layout is much more disorganized, less symmetrical, and makes more complete use of available space.

The more educated Thai seem to prefer the daily *Siam Rath* (*sājūmrāt*), which resembles the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald-Tribune* in format but not in news coverage. This paper is owned and published by a powerful royalist family.

Sara Seri (*sānsērī*), controlled in fact by army head E. M. Sarit, has considerable readership, particularly among army officers, even though its news treatment is usually quite inaccurate.

Thailand CHINESE prefer conventional Chinese layout, such as that of *Chung Yuan Pao* and *Hsing Hsien Jih Pao*, with large print (14-point body). Both of these papers have relatively high editorial standards. The front page contains pictures, large headlines, international news, and an editorial. Domestic news is on page three, sports on page five, and business on page seven. Advertisements, minor news stories, and features occupy the other pages. Layout for Chinese and Thai papers is entirely different.

The Chinese press in Thailand is not disposed to be very cooperative with other than specialized segments of the Chinese population. Its total circulation is tending to decrease.

BUDDHIST MONKS have their own journals but read various newspapers for political news. ROYALISTS prefer *prachaathipattaj* which is definitely royalist, conservative, and of very small but increasing circulation. UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES like the magazine *chaum krug* (Bangkokian), which they consider to be the Thai equivalent of *The New Yorker*.

Many of those Thai who subscribe to other specialized or partisan newspapers also subscribe to *Siam Rath* in order to obtain the most balanced reporting. Other important newspapers in Bangkok since the war have been *sajjumnikoon*, *chaajthaj*, *kiattisag*, *neewnda*, *sikrug*, *thajmaj*. In Chiangmai here is *khun myay*. It is common for newspapers to go out of business temporarily or permanently, and for others to spring up from year to year.

Other Printed Materials

Posters

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Posters are considered a good medium, provided they have strong pictorial impact. They have widespread effectiveness, particularly if placed where people walk frequently; for example, in the *sala* (pavilion) in a village. They must be aesthetically satisfying: in drab buildings, posters fill an ornamental need. Travel posters are familiar. Calendars are appreciated. The poster category also includes wall newspapers.

Wall posters are generally tabloid-newspaper size and mostly pictures, with few words. Usually they are offset printed. No special format is recommended as long as there is art work and color. For the educated, wall posters should not be too large, nor should they be garish or crude. Intellectuals would probably respond least to posters which they associate with lower educational levels. (Thai characters with all kinds of fancy flourishes, rather than the ordinary simple, standard characters, are used for store signs.)

CHINESE: Chinese wall posters are usually slightly smaller than an ordinary newspaper page, in bright colors, with large drawings; they have large headlines at top right, and secondary headlines at

top left. The message is written top to bottom and right to left. Ideally they would have a maximum of pictorial or graphic material and a minimum of text.

Handouts—Leaflets, Flyers, and Folders

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Size and shape are not of major importance. All sizes are acceptable, though smaller pieces are most convenient, since they can be carried in trouser or shirt pockets (coats are seldom worn). Handouts may be as small as 3¼ x 5 inches or as large as the legal-size mimeographed government reports. Thai materials commonly are 7¼ x 10 inches. USIS size 8 x 10½ inches is considered a little too large for average usage.

Thai materials are usually single sheets on newsprint. Normally paper is of poor quality. (High quality paper would identify the source as foreign.) Otherwise, Thai handouts are similar to Western throwaways.

The American communicator should endeavor to create an impression of sincerity and seriousness. And the term "throwaway" should be used with care, as it may be taken literally by the general public. Large leaflets are used in the market to wrap up produce.

Printed handouts (as compared to pamphlets) would be most effective for those who read slowly and therefore can read through only if they have their own copies. Little reading material is available in the villages and the people who can read are eager to do so; through reading, they can come to understand better than through pictures alone. Type should be large and clear, even if "foreign."

Pamphlets

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Among a large number the population reading ability is poor and retention low, so written matter should be kept as brief as possible. Straight-text pamphlets may be about three pages, with four pages an average maximum. Southeast Asian people are frequently not very conscientious readers; they must be tempted by interesting titles and format.

However, where pamphlets deal with specific interests or are prepared for educated groups, more detailed information would be welcomed by the audience and would gain prestige for the originator. Educated persons prefer to go into subjects in some detail and discuss them with friends and colleagues. About ten pages would be an appropriate length for pamphlets addressed to intellectuals. The same subject could be treated briefly for the general public. Pamphlets with text and pictures might run to thirty or forty pages.

Text is usually printed in double column. It should be kept in mind that printed Thai is more space consuming than English or Chinese.

Magazines

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Magazines may be a better means of communication than some other printed media; however, they would have to be unusually attractive to gain mass circulation. Still, the magazine is selective and can appeal directly to a given group. Other printed media cannot so easily do this.

Motion Pictures

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Motion pictures are the most widespread and most consequential mass medium available in Thailand. Few communities with an audience or potential audience of over 3,000 lack a movie theater. In the smaller centers these are crude affairs, often a mat shed, but they have the minimal equipment for showing 16-mm silent films. These movie houses are well patronized. For every ten Thai who read a newspaper, possibly as many as one hundred see a motion picture in the same period. The films shown include American, European, and Chinese features; however, these are usually outnumbered by the more popular local Thai productions.

Motion pictures are a highly effective means of reaching the public at large. While certain handicaps appear at first sight, these are not insurmountable; some even have points of advantage. Most of the small houses lack sound equipment—a serious deficiency where musical background or pure music are essential. However, this makes very little difference in straight dramas, because even the smallest houses utilize the services of what are often called “Adam and Eve” teams, which, from the rear of the house, supply the dialogue and appropriate sound effects. This increases the cost to the management, but lowers the cost to the producer.

With few exceptions Thai films are issued in 16-mm Kodachrome with no sound track, and “Adam and Eve” teams are employed even in Bangkok's largest theaters. They earn extremely high salaries (by Thai standards) for their efforts, and the results are astonishingly good. American and European films run in these theaters with the usual sound track, but in many instances distributors also supply 16-mm versions without sound for the rural circuits along with a working script in Thai for the “Adam and Eve” team.

The motion-picture situation in Thailand presents an excellent opportunity for reaching a mass audience with cheaply produced 16-mm films. Although something may be lost in picture quality and in handling of the added sound, the method is one which has been and probably will continue to be accepted. In the more remote areas at least, public enthusiasm for films is such that technical quality is immaterial.

The 16-mm film also lends itself very readily to use by mobile projection units.

Color should be used wherever possible.

Although the Thai are quite rightly regarded as modest and generally reluctant to expose themselves in public, their country has gained fame as the major producer and supplier of "blue" movies in the Far East. These productions are quite well done and draw a considerable volume of business. In the Thai movie industry, a "star" system has developed, and favorite performers have groups of fans eagerly awaiting their next appearance. At least two or three of the leading Thai movie actresses are reliably reported to have gotten their start in "blue" movies, and the pictures in which they made these earlier appearances are now collector's items.

BUDDHIST MONKS: Buddhist monks would view films interminably and "soak up" any message not in obvious conflict with their principles.

Techniques and Adjunctive Forms

Art Work and Paper

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Good quality paper and art work are appreciated, and would enhance the effectiveness of messages in cases where there need be no attempt to hide the source. Thai love superior quality foreign-made things; the expression "Japanese stuff" is applied to inferior articles in a derogatory way. However, quality of paper and work should not be so ostentatious as to "show up" or embarrass the Thai. In general, Thai standards of reproduction of pictures are very high and Western imitations for Thai consumption often seem crude.

Thailand is flooded with high quality art work originating through the auspices of both the United States and Communist China. Some observers feel, however, that both paper and art work should be of local quality. Typically, the paper in Thai publications has a rough finish like newsprint but is less white. Pages containing color and black-and-white pictures are of smoother finish but the paper is quite dark. Half-tones are of fairly good quality. Thai classical pictures are used a great deal in all Thai art work.

Thai art forms are highly stylized and almost entirely allegorical. All Thai cultural concepts have been colored by cultural ideas from China and India, and to a certain extent by Malay influences, which are reflected in the literature, art, and theater.

Selection of symbols can be tricky. For an antimalaria campaign, a picture was used in which an enlarged mosquito was put alongside a tiger with the caption, "The mosquito is 50,000 times more dangerous than the tiger." The Thai did not understand it, because they had never seen a mosquito so big.

ARMED FORCES (political) and MILITARY: If it is clear that the pictures are emanating from the United States, members of the

armed forces would expect an excellent product. They know, some of them from first-hand contact, that the United States is wealthy; cheap paper might make it appear that we were not doing too well.

BUDDHIST MONKS: The best method of approach is to duplicate the quality and style used in the better—more prestigious—publications by the Buddhist hierarchy, or key lay groups such as the Young Buddhist Association. The monks are not used to slick-quality art work and would recognize it as foreign. However, for some purposes this might not be objectionable.

CHINESE: Ordinary newsprint is probably best for both pamphlets and magazines, although if the United States were suffering reverses and the source of the propaganda were to be clearly evident, the quality of paper should not be so poor as to suggest that the United States was in difficult circumstances. Except for covers, where heavy coated paper is more or less standard, the Chinese themselves use newsprint for nearly every kind of publication. However, sized or calendered paper for pictorials is also common; such paper is particularly likely to be found in imported publications. If a publication is to be recognizably American, the only objection to slick paper is that it tends to suggest that Americans spend too much money on propaganda.

MASS-MEDIA PERSONNEL: It would be practically impossible to conceal from this group the foreign origin of paper or art work. They know what can be had in Thailand and can easily spot materials from Hong Kong, Manila, Tokyo, Peking, and the United States. However, there is no particular resentment of material from these sources.

ROYALISTS: The higher the quality of paper and art work, the better.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES: Newsprint (even for magazines) is quite appropriate. Slick paper or heavier, big-grained paper (such as the paper on which American public-relations blurbs are printed) are not appreciated.

Use of Color

Color in Printing

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: For printed propaganda materials, any gay colors would be appropriate. The people have a great awareness of tones and shades. Black type on white paper is standard for newsheets and leaflets; however, colored printing in red or green could be used on occasion to make headlines stand out (as is sometimes done by Thai newspapers). Leaflet borders could be any color. Black leaflet borders are used only on death announcements.

CHINESE: Eye-catching greens, purples, yellows, and gilt, considered gaudy and garish in the United States, appeal to the Chinese

in Thailand. Much of the material coming from the Chinese mainland is printed in pastel shades. These are distinctive; however, the degree to which they are appreciated is not known. Publications from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other overseas Chinese population centers rely mostly on violent primary colors.

Colors for Particular Effects

Red, white, and blue are the colors of the flag and ought to be limited to dignified patriotic usage when in combination.

A white elephant should be pictured only in a respectful way—as should all white animals—since they are appurtenances of Royalty and the Throne. (However, the white elephant has been replaced as the emblem of state by the Garuda, used in Thailand as the eagle is used in the United States.)

White and gold suggest Buddhism, religion, virtue, and purity.

White is the traditional garb for mourning, although in modern times a black armband and/or tie is added to conventional dress. Black signifies death, terror, evil, and lowliness.

For scenic pictures, green background with distant blue-gray mountains is always appropriate. Emerald green might express the season of growing rice; golden brown the season of the harvest. Other seasons could be suggested by appropriate flowers or the turning of the rubber-tree leaves.

House paints in pink and aqua are used for shutters.

For CHINESE, red denotes happiness and is used for marriages and anniversaries. Chinese consider white the unlucky color; it is used in depicting death, the villain in the play, etc.

Red and gold are used for the ancient costumes worn by the King's attendants on certain ritual days.

Gold is the color of religious figures and articles. Monks' robes are bright orange-yellow (saffron) or sometimes, for older rural monks, a darker reddish-orange. The yellow color associated with monks' robes could be used very effectively in any appropriate appeal to Buddhists. There is no taboo against use of yellow and gold.

Royal blue would be especially good when associating officials and royalty with monks in some ceremony. Formerly the full-dress color of officials, royal blue is still used for the servants in the Royal Palace as a sort of livery.

ROYALISTS now often wear white-and-gold uniforms. Certain leaders among them wear the traditional white coat with choker collar and the *phân nây*.

Nuns wear white.

Thai, generally, prefer light (young) to dark (old) colors. Pastels, such as pinks and light blues, are considered beautiful by both sexes. Except when in mourning, women wear light pastels, often a white blouse with a gaily printed skirt. Educated men wear European dress,

white or off-white, light blue, or brown. Sympathizers or followers of certain prominent leaders often wear particular colors (e.g., in ties) in honor of their favorite.

The choice of traditional colors for garments worn each day of the week is a practice no longer observed.

Points of Caution Regarding Use of Certain Colors

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Red should be used cautiously. It should not be used at all in communicating with government officials; the government recently changed all its seals from red to black. Excessive use of red might suggest passion (to be avoided by **BUDDHIST MONKS**). Red apparently is also associated to some extent with Communists, since the Chinese Communists are known as *ciin deen* (Red Chinese), but it is a popular color in Thailand and its political associations should not entirely preclude its use.

Colors of the flag or colors associated with religion or royalty should not be used in socks, since feet are a symbol of inferiority.

Black, purple, and light green are not considered proper for festive occasions such as weddings.

In view of its morbid associations, black should be used with care.

A man should not be depicted in a white suit with black necktie unless mourning or sorrow is to be indicated.

Visual Aids (Other Than Motion Pictures)

Pictures—General

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Thai love pictures; they would be effective on any occasion with any group, but particularly in rural areas where people are only semiliterate. Illustrations should be applicable to local situations and should depict Thai rather than foreigners. Level of sophistication varies throughout the country; however, the population is conditioned to pictures at an early age by copiously illustrated readers and other schoolbooks. The foremost illustrator, *hēm wēdechākoon*, is known everywhere.

Western propagandists have sometimes failed to appreciate the degree to which Thai literary and publishing people are sophisticated in techniques of printing and illustration.

Pictures are probably particularly effective for appeals to emotions such as nationalism. However, pictures of ruins create no compulsive sentiments in the Thai, who do not like to rebuild after destruction but "leave it to the gods" (as they did their ancient capital city Ayutthaya).

ADMINISTRATORS: Administrators are accustomed to use of pictures for training purposes and spreading official information. Pictures should be effective with this group unless the King or the Buddhist religion are improperly portrayed.

BUDDHIST MONKS: Buddhist monks are appreciative of pictures as the general public in Thailand, and enjoy the same sorts. They would also be fascinated by pictures relating to Buddhist art and sculpture, and the life of Buddhist monks in other countries, as well as by the techniques for manufacturing picture books.

In regard to shocking pictures, Buddhist monks accept the brutal facts of life more naturally than Americans, because their religion teaches the tragedy of existence. They regard such things as natural to evil man.

Monks are not self-critical; they never joke about themselves, their King, or their religion. The King should be treated as divine, without human frailties, and the monks as embodying the ideals of Buddhism. Monks would not appreciate the use of women as advocates of an idea or a product, as in U.S. advertising. Sensationalism should be used with hesitation, as it is likely to boomerang. In general, what passes for good taste in Roman Catholic circles, when modified by Buddhist clerical biases, would be passable in Thai Buddhist circles.

CHINESE: Pictures are a highly effective device; traditionally the Chinese prefer pictures rather than words. Effective under almost any circumstances, pictures are particularly useful for substantiating statements of fact. Pictures of large groups generally create less interest than those of individuals doing a specific thing. Pictures of a process or event are effective.

Scenes of gore, suffering, and the like are more acceptable in Chinese publications than they would be in the United States.

Depiction of ostentation and wealth would be considered bad taste. Most subjects in good taste in the United States would be acceptable by the Chinese in Thailand. The risk would be that U.S.-produced pictorial materials are too mild to have much "punch."

Chinese have asked how pictures of Communist atrocities had been obtained, if there was a bamboo curtain between Red China and the Free World. The answer was, of course, that the pictures had been smuggled out. If the caption had included a word or phrase indicating that the pictures had been smuggled out or brought out by refugees, the question would not have arisen and the pictures would have been more effective.

ROYALISTS: Royalists like any well-done pictures of older royal ceremonies, past glories, historical events, the Throne, and the church. They also enjoy Thai classical art.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS: Students are inclined to be suspicious of pictures which have an obvious propaganda touch.

WESTERN-EDUCATED ELITE: Western-educated people are interested in various forms of art, photography being most popular. Pictures should be selected with extreme care as to quality, for this group is more critical than the average Thai.

Single Pictures vs. Series

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Individual pictures have their uses, but a series is preferred. Thai like pictures to tell a story and do not mind some repetition in a sequence. However, the complexity of the idea to be presented would, of course, govern the decision as to whether to use a series.

Black-and-White Pictures vs. Colored

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Black-and-white pictures are acceptable for general use, billboard-type displays, and magazines; however, their effectiveness is not to be compared with that of color pictures. The Thai are very fond of color and prefer it in both pictures and photographs. The people are used to strong, realistic colors. (See *Use of Color*.) Illustration is a well-developed art in Thailand and the public is critical; however, the quality of color printing is uneven. Nevertheless, to be fully appreciated the work must be well done. (The "slick" publications the Japanese send to the United States might be used as a guide.)

Because of the expense of production, colored illustrations might be reserved for special uses. The most popular of all USIS handouts consisted of color pictures of the King and the Emerald Buddha. Use of color for magazine or book covers is generally appropriate; however, too much color on the inside would denote costliness and foreign origin.

Points of Caution

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Any pictures which depict the clergy in unconventional roles or lower the dignity of the Throne must be avoided.

No kicking should be portrayed except in pictures of Thai boxing or soccer. A boot shown above someone's head would be even worse. The foot should not be shown even pointing at something on the floor, nor in pictures of a seated figure should it point at anyone.

In general, the same subjects considered distasteful in the United States would be distasteful to the Thai. To respectable people, watching the slaughter of animals or an execution marks a person as brutal and is shocking. The sight of a corpse is considered by some to be unlucky.

Cartoons

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Simple, well-done cartoons would seem to be useful as a general medium of communication with the uneducated. Among the more educated, cartoons of a more sophisticated type (for instance, Herblock-type) would be effective. Cartoons should be particularly useful for ridiculing values or concepts advanced by the enemy which contradict or are opposed to the traditional values of the indigenous group.

When the source is, or can be, identified as foreign, care must be taken not to ridicule the Thai. Also, there is danger of exaggerating cartoons to the point of arousing sympathy for the object of fun. (For example, U.S. propagandists have been harshly criticized for depicting Communism as a devil with a pitchfork; many Thai claim that this created sympathy for the "enemy.")

Thai cartoons are biting, pointed, and satirical—with brief, pithy captions; however, humor and satire are very broad and obvious; there is little subtlety. Cartoons can be either serious or humorous; for either political or comic situations. The best subjects are particular events, or the particular actions of particular people—not abstract principles or ideas. A bad or run-of-the-mill cartoon is readily noticed and criticized.

The single-panel cartoon is becoming popular, although it is relatively new as a newspaper device. Comic books are increasing in popularity and comic strips are gaining wide appeal.

Cartoons are generally line drawings; otherwise, format is generally almost identical to that of Western cartoons. Both captions at the bottom and "balloons" are commonly used. Occasionally, however, comment is not balloon-encased but is simply placed near the speaker's head.

A man is depicted as large and muscular; a woman as quite curvaceous. Animal figures are not used for characterizing humans. The person depicted as an animal would beget the sympathy, and the originator would be considered rude. Traditional demons or a mythological beast such as the dragon (for Chinese) can be used, however. Thai cartoons can depict the ugly.

BUDDHIST MONKS: Although some types of cartoons may be unfamiliar to Buddhist monks, they would probably be quick to enjoy and appreciate them, especially if religion were treated with respect while humor and plays on words were employed. Cartoons might be used effectively to instruct, persuade, warn, or for any other purpose that the monks would not consider improper. Care should be taken in depicting women in cartoons: they should never be shown touching a monk or being in any way familiar.

Some disagreement exists regarding the use of cartoons for Buddhist monks. According to one authority, the monks' own books and magazines never contain cartoons; another asserts that Buddhists themselves use cartoons as an educational device. One states that cartoons are "not in keeping with Buddhism"; another believes they are most appropriate. To some extent, this difference of opinion may arise from different conceptions as to the type of cartoon contemplated. Certainly nothing which treats Buddhism in a manner which is less than dignified should be presented.

CHINESE: Cartoon format is generally copied from Western style, though humor is very different and draftsmanship inferior by

Western standards. Balloons are not generally used and captions are usually placed vertically at the right; sometimes, however, the caption is below. It is frequently difficult to guess which character is speaking. Cartoons without balloons or captions are more common than in the United States.

Single-panel cartoons are generally of the strictly humorous—or even slapstick—variety, with the characters involved in some improbable or ludicrous situation. Some cartoons ridicule Western dress and such stereotypes as the fat, selfish businessman and the arrogant official. These are designed to appeal to the relatively poor Chinese who lack money to indulge in luxuries and are abused by officials.

Multipanel cartoons frequently depict Chinese history, modern love, or some serious or melodramatic topic.

There has been an upsurge of interest in children's cartoon books of the "Superman" type and some have been surprisingly well done. Plot content is very much on the gory side: garrottings, decapitations, disembowelings, and other misfortunes are found in every issue and are portrayed in loving detail. Most Chinese-language comic books are produced in Hongkong and distributed through sidewalk libraries, where a modest fee is charged for the privilege of reading.

Politically slanted cartoons are becoming much more common. Communist Chinese cartoons are extremely sarcastic and often vituperative. Reproduction and the quality of the art work are infinitely better than that of other Chinese or Thai cartoons. Comics for children depict the exploits of traditional Chinese heroes and stories with a moral.

Standard U.S. comics—"Blondie," "Li'l Abner," and a number of others—appear in both Chinese and Thai papers, and in Chinese-language comic books imported from Hongkong. These seem to be well received.

MASS-MEDIA PERSONNEL: With their great love of satire, media personnel are extremely susceptible to cartoon communication.

MILITARY—OFFICERS: Comic-book, story-type cartoons are very effective.

ROYALISTS: One of the leading supporters of the political cartoon is a Thai royalist editor. However, to depict the King in a cartoon would ordinarily be lese majesty.

WESTERN-EDUCATED ELITE: Cartoons enjoyed by the Western-educated resemble those of the United States in every respect. Avoid giving the impression of oversimplifying, either in choice of topic or in the drawing itself.

Sketches

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Sketches would be appropriate, only if pictures or photographs were unavailable; except as cartoons, sketches do not have much appeal. The cartoon-type sketch is

satisfactory for making a point, if it is cleverly done and depicts local characters or situations. When the communicator departs from literal representation, he must be careful to adhere to Thai standards and the sorts of illustrations to which the people are accustomed. Sketches do appeal to those who use line drawings in their professions; for example, architects and engineers.

Photographs

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: The popularity of photography as a hobby in all parts of Thailand reflects the very wide appeal of photographs. Although they have lost their novelty value, photos still have appeal that other graphic forms lack. They are generally preferable for documentation and probably would be the best pictorial medium for any serious message. In editing photos, be careful not to destroy context by cropping too heavily. Montage should be used carefully. Many people are sufficiently sophisticated to readily recognize distortion and fakes.

Maps

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Maps would not be readily understood by the illiterate—roughly 50 percent of the population. And surveys indicate that many of the semiliterate would have difficulty identifying their country on a map; they know little of the world outside their villages. The compulsory phase of Thai education (the four-year primary course) does not provide much background. The 5 percent of the population who have completed the first half of middle school (the equivalent of about seventh grade) would probably have some grasp of geography; however, even Thai with high-school education have difficulty locating places on a map of their country. They do know the location of their country in relation to the rest of the world, also its size and characteristics, but this is more from reading than from map study. There are almost no Thai atlases.

People of higher education could use maps more easily. Those who have been exposed to maps through military service would have greatest familiarity.

ADMINISTRATORS: Most administrators can read and understand simple maps such as road maps, and quite a number can read and understand the symbols of army cartography. With the exception of the *kamnan* (local chief) and *phūn jāi bān* (village headmen) they have a good geographical knowledge of their country and their location in it. Village headmen and *naaj amph* (district officers) know where they are in relation to Bangkok, certainly, since most have been there.

BUDDHIST MONKS: Buddhist monks in general are familiar with Thai geography, often from first-hand acquaintance; but their map-reading ability is quite limited. Except for monks in advanced

grades of study, they have little knowledge of maps of other countries or of the world in detail.

CHINESE: More than half of the Chinese in Thailand are reasonably familiar with maps and would, in most cases, be able to place Thailand, Red China, and Taiwan, if given an outline map of Asia. Chinese residents are also familiar with the geography of Thailand, and its relation to other countries.

MASS-MEDIA PERSONNEL: Most of the group come from Bangkok. The few who came originally from another part of Thailand will know that area also. However, most can read and understand basic maps.

ROYALISTS: A number of royalists are Bangkok dilettantes who might not even be able to read road maps easily. Many of this class are well-traveled, but not in Thailand. On the whole, however, they are well aware of where Thailand is, and their location in it.

Music

Symbolic Music

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: "Battle Hymn of the Republic," played in fast tempo, is the tune of the "fight song" of the University. This is heard several times a day over the radio. It may also be considered patriotic. The Thai version of "Cherry Pink and Apple Blossom White" is played continuously at boxing matches to instill combativeness in fighters.

At wedding festivals, Thai music is played hour after hour on native instruments by a professional orchestra which plays without music scores.

Music for Entertainment

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Thai music is of two types. The first type is the traditional music in an indigenous non-Western scale without sharps and flats. It is highly stylized and is unique in tone, melody, and rhythm. Many phonograph records are made, but no sheet music is available, because no system of notation has been developed. Popular instruments are xylophones, drums, castanets, bamboo flutes, and one-stringed instruments. Most Thai like traditional music but quickly tire of hearing it; a few like only this type. Traditional music is more popular in rural areas than in the capital. All traditional ceremonies are accompanied by traditional music performed by an old-fashioned orchestra. The traditional music is so stylized that action tunes never vary. The action tune, used in theatrical productions, is a signal for action—marching, walking, making love—or the portrayal of sorrow, anger, joy. A person familiar with Thai music could identify the scene taking place by the set phrasing of the music, even if he could not see the performance.

For use of traditional Thai music, a Thai musician should be con-

sulted. This music is a demanding art and only one who has played it since childhood could advise accurately.

Music of the second type is composed in the Western scale and includes dance music, motion-picture love songs, and the like. It is usually slower in tempo and more sentimental than American popular music. Songs of this type have been almost universally popular for some decades; a perennial favorite of all is "*khāmēen sajjōng*." The "hits" of transitory popularity also belong in this category. Modern Thai music of the light-ballad type is popular, and so are *ramwong* dance music and current movie theme songs. Much of the popular modern music seems to be based on traditional themes adapted to the Western scale.

Most Thai also enjoy the more familiar songs of Stephen Foster and "jazzed-up" versions of Christian hymns. American jazz is liked by the King and a small group, but is not popular with all. Rock 'n' roll has some following among the young (Bangkok has boasted an Elvis Presley Fan Club).

It is difficult to judge the country-wide reaction to symphonic music. Several radio stations broadcast it. It may be that classical music, both Thai and Western, is better appreciated by older people.

Since there are two distinct types of music, and both have followings, it would be acceptable to mix them. For instance, in a radio program the theme song might be Thai or Northeast Lao, and the remainder could be Western-type music (in metropolitan areas) or traditional Thai (in country districts). At country fairs, one hears both traditional Thai music and popular Western-scale songs.

ADMINISTRATORS: Thai modern music is more popular with administrators than Western music. Many of the officials in the provinces enjoy folk music.

BUDDHIST MONKS: The Buddhist religious service includes no music, and their faith decrees that monks avoid music and be above its influence. Those monks or novices who have accepted holy orders for a brief time might, however, as individuals, be unable to resist music they liked as laymen—such as sentimental, romantic, Hawaiian, rock 'n' roll, traditional Thai classical recordings.

In the unlikely event that one wanted to tempt monks to violate their rules or even leave the order, one might use stirring music.

Although music ordinarily plays little or no part in the monks' lives, Buddhist festivals include theatricals which are musical productions. Certainly recognition of these musical productions by Americans would arouse a sense of mutuality.

CHINESE: Chinese opera of all descriptions—that indigenous to Peiping (Peking), Swatow, Canton, Hainan—is by far the most popular type of music. Chinese folk songs are also popular, but apparently not quite so prevalent. The Chinese Communists have used folk songs to considerable advantage on the mainland, and they

would probably be equally successful among the Chinese living in Thailand.

Certain overseas Chinese appear to be fond of American jazz and movie theme songs.

MILITARY: Officers' fondness of Western, and particularly American, popular music is such that twice as many Western tunes as Thai *ramoon*, are played at army dances in North Thailand. Enlisted men generally enjoy native ballads and folk music.

ROYALISTS: In music, the royalists' interests are varied and individualistic. The King and some others prefer jazz; some like only traditional Thai ballet music; others appreciate Western symphonic and operatic music.

Many, including the King himself, are accomplished amateur musicians. Not only do they play one or more instruments but they compose and arrange as well. Royalists naturally revere the traditional national anthem.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES: Associated with happiness is *ramoon* music and particularly "*Kasèed nîi lóo cîy cîy*," a popular, widely known tune about the love-making powers of the students from Kasetsart University. During the noon hour at Chulalongkorn University, the student center resounds with Thai music in which rhythm is predominant.

WESTERN-EDUCATED ELITE: The Western-educated enjoy jazz; many enjoy or pretend to enjoy serious Western music. They also like the better Thai popular songs.

Points of Caution Regarding Use of Certain Music

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Although some are less appreciated than others, in general no type of music is to be avoided completely. However, faddish or extreme American music (such as rock 'n' roll) should be used very sparingly, and the majority do not care for American jazz. American martial tunes are closely associated with *coups d'état*, since they are played on the radio when a *coup d'état* takes place.

Western opera and concert vocal music seem to have no devotees in Thailand except a very few serious students of music; this type of music should be avoided except when aimed at the few known to enjoy it. Western symphonic music is meaningless to most Thai; it grates on their ears and does not carry any emotional message.

Many Thai have a strong dislike for Burmese and Indians, and on occasion, this extends to the music of these countries.

Specifically to be avoided would be "*tôn trākunn thaj*," known as "Pibul's song," which is regarded cynically by all except his immediate followers, and is no longer popular as a nationalistic air. In the past, there have been other "personal" songs. One composed a few years ago by the Director for Public Relations, entitled the

Thai equivalent of "Nationalism," is resented by most people as too obvious an attempt at manipulation.

Sources of Recordings and Sheet Music

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: There are a number of music stores in Bangkok, particularly in the *theewet* district. Sheet music is limited, and is confined to Thai modern music. Most recordings have been made by the Indian firm, Rabbit Records, where the Chief of the Fine Arts Department has a complete collection of sheet music and recordings. Some Thai classical music is recorded by Columbia Red Seal Recordings, Phillips Co., and firms in Hongkong; HMV London has recorded some Thai music with Western instruments. The Music Division of the Library of Congress has an unprocessed stock of recordings.

CHINESE: Chinese records are readily available in music shops in Bangkok and Hongkong. Most Chinese opera performers appear to use no sheet music at all and may learn the music by ear.

CULTURAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNICATION

Manner of Address

Equality vs. Self-Effacement (See also *Positive Suggestions*)

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Ordinarily, foreigners approach the Thai as equals. Americans should adopt this manner, particularly when addressing the foreign-educated and those of equivalent government rank. (See exceptions and special conditions under ADMINISTRATORS and WESTERN-EDUCATED ELITE.) Most Thai, even the royalists, have a democratic outlook. With persons of high rank, the best manner for a speaker to adopt is one that shows modesty and respect but also retains an air of self-respect. A genuinely respectful attitude would be advisable when associating with royalty, learned persons, monks, and elderly people.

An egalitarian approach is also appropriate in public meetings, in conversation with average citizens, and when speaking to those about whose status the communicator has some doubt. The approach can also be used to elevate—provided this does not offend others. Equal status can be used to create rapport between the communicator and the audience.

Respect, courtesy, modesty, and decorousness are all desirable traits for persons in Thailand. Furthermore, in Thai culture such humble acts as bowing are not considered to involve loss of self-respect. Even so, they should rarely be used by the American.

Although Thai of all ranks are conditioned to use self-effacing language, this is not necessarily to be considered sincere. (For instance, Luang Pibul Songgram got down on his knees and face before

the King, using the lowest form of the pronoun "I"—and then went on to put the King under the law and set himself up as dictator.)

Frequently Thai show humility and adopt a self-effacing manner in appealing to someone, particularly when trying to "put across" something bound to be unpopular; however, the American should limit his use of this technique.

ADMINISTRATORS: A self-effacing manner would be safe generally with the higher ranks—officials of the *caywadd* level and up—occasionally with the *naaj amphaa*.

ARMED FORCES (political) and MILITARY: In time of crisis, when leadership is sought, the American should not adopt a self-effacing manner. He should never use such a manner with enlisted men. However, after a successful operation in which friendly Thai forces and their American allies had jointly participated, the communicator might adopt a self-effacing manner with officers in order to enhance the prestige and contribution of the Thai forces. In a situation of "officer to officer," the usual military convention should be followed: deference to those of higher rank than the communicator and equal status to those of the same or lower rank.

BUDDHIST MONKS: A humble and modest attitude is always appropriate in addressing monks, but self-effacement is not necessary. After the initial amenities, a monk usually invites one to sit down. The conversation is then relaxed and in terms of equality, though always decorous. To assume an air of authority or servility would be to create a precarious situation. Actual equality would be appropriate only if the individual himself had taken orders and become a monk wearing a yellow robe.

CHINESE: The Chinese do not regard themselves as an inferior race and implications that they are would have a negative result. They are, however, inclined to be self-effacing and some would be likely to respond favorably to one who adopted a similar manner; for example, by adopting a self-effacing manner an American might create a more relaxed atmosphere in some situations. Nevertheless, a self-effacing manner should *not* be used in addressing large gatherings. Such a manner would be most likely to be effective when the communicator is confident that his position is overwhelmingly strong; Chinese appreciate occasional humility from the mighty. Those who have not known Americans expect a superior attitude; to offset this stereotype, an American may pointedly adopt a self-effacing manner with his social equals and superiors. However, in general, the manner adopted toward an American audience will produce like responses from a Chinese audience of similar composition. The Chinese have a certain respect for Americans, balanced by an intrinsic antiforeign bias. Those who have known Americans (and most have) do not expect them to be haughty or domineering—or self-effacing.

ROYALISTS: A great many who are titled discard their titles when using English and prefer to be called Mr. or Mrs.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES: If the communicator is younger than the audience, or if the audience is comprised of royalty, nobility, and/or high-ranking members of the civil service (as is quite likely in a university faculty) self-effacement can be used. The approach used with students should never be self-effacing. With university persons in general, formal politeness should be the rule; in such an approach, apology, defensiveness, and uncertainty should be avoided.

WESTERN-EDUCATED ELITE: Members of the Western-educated elite prefer to be addressed as equals, if the communication is couched in language which shows that the communicator's intelligence and education are comparable to theirs. A self-effacing manner should never be adopted except with persons of the most exalted rank. The Western-educated elite like to be treated by Westerners as Westerners. Address the group in ordinary polite English.

Authoritarian Manner and Direct Commands

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: The authoritarian approach is rarely effective in Thailand. Thai leaders themselves avoid such an approach; American usage would probably arouse resentment. Even in an extreme situation, reliance on a Thai intermediary or appeals to patriotism or related generalities would be necessary to facilitate an order. To express the imperative strongly, precede the verb with the auxiliary *coj*: the verb followed by *thə* is milder.

ADMINISTRATIONS: So long as it is couched in polite phrases, the authoritarian approach could be used when necessary with *phu jəj baan*, *amphəə* education officials, principals, teachers, and the lower three grades of government administrators. This manner may also be used effectively with *kamnan* and *naaj amphəə*. It should never be adopted with higher ranks.

ARMED FORCES (political) and MILITARY: Both the authoritarian approach and the direct command should be avoided with officers, unless the source of authority or command is a senior Thai officer to whom the individual owes personal allegiance, the American communicator is senior in military rank, the communicator is instructing on subjects which the group knows little about, or the desired effect is of short duration.

BUDDHIST MONKS: Never use the command even to the lowest-ranking novice. The King and other powerful figures address monks with respect. The authoritarian approach is practicable only through the use of normal Buddhist channels and by the monk vested with such rights. If civilians wish monks to do or not do something, they politely request it.

MASS-MEDIA PERSONNEL: The authoritarian approach is risky, especially with press people. It is particularly risky in dealing with the CHINESE press. In addressing prominent mass-media personnel, remember that Thailand's leading editor is a member of the royal family; the chief movie-maker is a Royal Highness; a leading reporter is president of the Thammasat student body. The chief radio-television moguls are a colonel and a general.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES: Since the university community is made up of individuals who are themselves actual or potential authority figures, commands would lead only to resentment and hostility. The authoritarian approach may be used with some students under appropriate conditions but almost never with faculty; the exceptions are student leaders, especially those at Thammasat, and junior faculty members. If the authoritarian approach is necessary, it should be tempered by formality.

Forms of Address

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: The American communicator should not attempt Thai unless he knows which form of address to use; if he knows only English, he should use polite forms of that language.

For Thai-language communications *khun* (you), an honorific term, is widely applicable; it is appropriate for both sexes and is more polite than *thān*, which though respectful, is forceful. Last names are never used in address. *Khun* prefixes the given name, and even intimate friends may not appreciate the use of the first name alone. For the second person plural, use *thān tháy lǎaj* (all or everybody). *Thān tháy khon* means "you all."

The given name may also be prefixed by *naaj* (Mr. or Master), *naay*, (Mrs. or Mistress), or *naay-sǎaw* (Miss); however, when used in direct address these connote Master or Mistress.

If a person has a title, such as *cǎw khun* (lord), *khun jǐy* (lady), *aaccān* (professor), prince, always use it when speaking Thai. The Thai set great store by titles. When using official titles, however, be certain of choice: it is equally bad to address someone by too high a title as to use one that is too low. For those in dual occupations, such as professional persons in government or university positions, the royal or conferred title is generally preferred to the professional one, but this varies with the individual.

BUDDHIST MONKS: *Khun phrá* (respected monk) is the most common term of address. "Venerable Sir" is correct for more important or more highly placed monks; *cǎw khun* for abbots, or a particular title in Thai (but *only* if the communicator is thoroughly familiar with the intricacies of the language). For a group of Buddhist monks use *kháná sǎy thǐi nabhǔy* (Reverend Order).

An affectionate and respectful term for a monk older than oneself is *lǎay phǐi* (*phǐi*—older brother), or for one still older *lǎay phǎo*

(phô—father). *Sôndet* is for very highly placed monks and the Ecclesiastical Prime Minister.

CHINESE: No special terms of address would be required with CHINESE. The polite forms of address are *Hsien sheng* (Mr.), *Hsiao chieh* (Miss), *Tai tai* (Mrs.), or *p'eng yu* (friend).

MASS-MEDIA PERSONNEL: Some media people do part-time college teaching; they would not object to being called *anacan* (professor). Group segments could be addressed according to their specialties—as commentators, editors, reporters, etc.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES: The term for male undergraduate is *nútsid*, and for female undergraduate, *nútsitaa*; in addressing a student, use *thán* (you).

In groups, students can be addressed according to university department or chosen profession; for example, "students of the Faculty of Arts," "student engineers." The term *lâug sùl* is frequently used by a teacher to address his own students with whom he has a close, personal relationship. The term can be used in private or public.

Address faculty members as *anacan* (professor), dean, doctor, or whatever title the man has. If he has none, use the polite *khun* (you).

Positive Suggestions

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Create the feeling of their "belonging" to an exclusive group association. The Thai is more a group member than an individualist, but he likes to feel that his group is a select one.

Most Thai are highly susceptible to flattery.

Speaking in a soft, gentle voice is highly desirable. Thai often speak to each other in what Americans would consider whispers.

As expressed by Thai, "Politeness brings good results." It is better to be excessively polite than to risk being rude. With servants, it is advisable to use the appropriate polite word (for example, a woman addressing a servant should never give a simple command or call the servant by name alone), in English adding the word "please" or in Thai *cá* will be found pleasing.

A politician or clergyman might address his audience as *phyan thii ráy* (beloved friends); otherwise, salutations such as "friends" and "brothers" are almost never used. "Ladies and gentlemen" is always appropriate. *Thán tháy lăaj* (all, or everybody) is particularly useful in speeches.

Such terms of address as "uncle," "auntie," "brother," "sister," are quite common in individual address at certain levels, but too complex in usage to be of value beyond application to very small groups.

The Central Thai dialect is used even where other dialects are spoken, and when public affairs are discussed in public meetings.

ADMINISTRATORS: It is not unusual for a high military title to be conferred on a senior administrator. These titles are usually

of flag and general rank. An individual having such a title usually prefers it, if it is senior to his other titles.

Natural rivalries exist between ministries. Since geographical job rotation is common, the geographical appeal is not as effective above the *kamnan* level as the occupational appeal.

Each government department carries its own titles.

BUDDHIST MONKS: The message will be more readily accepted if proper channels are used, even though it is understood that the originator is not the spokesman but an American. The most effective communication is that made through a "functional" excuse for communication such as a ceremonial address to which the American is invited, or a declaration of a technical opinion which is solicited. Only when the statement is first accepted as *part* of a function will it be given full credence. Direct *unsolicited* communication is not only bad taste; it is automatically rejected, regardless of source.

It is extremely unlikely that an American would move beyond the formal barrier and be accepted by more than a few as more than what he is: a stranger, a foreigner, and, in most cases, a layman and certainly not a Buddhist.

The English terms "priest" and "monk" are used interchangeably for members of the Buddhist order.

Anyone communicating with a monk should take care to offer cigarettes and similar items. However, no monk should be pressed to take any food or drink, since priests differ in what they allow themselves—especially after 12 noon.

It should be noted that for monks there are special words for "to eat," "to sleep," "food," "to invite (a monk)," etc. Failure to use these is startling (incorrect, but not vulgar). Avoid terms relating to sex, liquor, and other forbidden things.

No matter how well a person thinks he knows Thai, an interpreter should be utilized when approaching Buddhist monks. The problem is very complicated, the language intricate, and the Thai extremely sensitive in matters regarding monks. The interpreter may make suggestions and inject the correct respectful phrases.

CHINESE: For most purposes, it would be well to regard the Chinese in Thailand as Thai nationals. Almost all individuals and virtually all the leaders are fluent in Thai and would be as responsive to approaches in Thai as to approaches in Chinese. However, appeals attempting to produce specific action, or inaction, should take into account the Chinese position as a minority group and their traditional attachment to their own land and culture.

If circumstances call for use of the Chinese language, keep in mind that Chinese abounds in honorifics and polite titles of various kinds. The Mandarin terms should cover most situations; however, the South China dialects (Teochiu or Ch'ao Chou [Swatow]) would be better in certain circumstances.

MILITARY OFFICERS: "Face" is most important; in a group, a senior officer must never be shown to have less knowledge than a junior officer. Thai officers have been so exposed to American culture that they know American mannerisms and expect the "American way" even if they do not like it. If the American attempts to use Thai mannerisms and makes an error, he is considered either a fraud or "funpoker." Americans should use Thai mannerisms sparingly and then only to indicate knowledge of, interest in, and respect for Thai customs and culture.

ROYALISTS: Only a few are conscious "royalists"; most regard themselves as old-fashioned patriots opposed to harmful changes. They are particularly susceptible to a manner which plays on their leadership and responsibility toward Throne, church, and country.

Titles of royalty or nobility are always pleasing when appropriately used. However, professional titles may be used, when it is known that their holders prefer them. Senior occupational titles in government, including those conferred, and unearned military titles may be used generally. When speaking English, many prefer simply Mr. or Mrs. As this group never assembles, address is entirely a matter of individual conversation.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES: With students (and occasionally with faculty members also), benevolent superiority is an effective manner of communication. The American communicator assumes that he has something important to tell his audience, and thus takes the attitude of a lecturer. But this role must be handled very subtly: the American should be neither a "know-it-all" nor a pleader. His approach should be marked by light humor, rational explanation (repetition desirable), and occasionally, moral justification. He asks or recommends that his audience do or believe what he says; he never commands them.

Most faculty members are part-time teachers; for the many attached to governmental departments, use of their regular governmental titles would be best. The use of official titles is not merely a matter of good taste or formality: omission or incorrect use of one is immediately noticed. This is especially true in an elite group like university students and faculties.

If the communicator has a close, informal, personal relationship with a faculty member, and if they sometimes speak to each other in Thai, the communicator may address the faculty member with a kinship term; for example, call him *phii* (meaning "older brother or sister"); note, however, that the word for *younger* sibling would never be used. Or if the faculty member were considerably older, he might be called *bug* (elder uncle) or *aa* or *naa* (both of which mean "younger uncle"). These terms would be used only in private or small groups and rarely by a foreigner.

The term *khruu* (derived from the Sanskrit *guru*, "master") is not associated with higher degrees, but is self-used by all lower-level teachers; sometimes even college professors. It connotes respect and, to an extent, endearment.

Men and women with degrees are *aacuan*. College professors, deans, etc. are *aacuan* or *sàadsàtraacuan*. *Aacuan* is flattering to all, for it shows that rank is respected.

WESTERN-EDUCATED ELITE: Though the Western-educated elite like to be treated as Westerners, one must never forget that underneath they have traditional Thai attitudes and reactions.

Points of Caution

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: If the communicator is attempting to speak Thai, he should exercise every precaution against using terms of address of lower rank than the person he is talking to. Errors are so damaging that foreigners should stick to English unless they can handle Thai with accuracy. There are numerous sets of first- and second-person pronouns, some of which apply only to persons of highest social rank; others are wholly *insulting* or even obscene. *Phǒm*, *khun*, *thān thān lāaj* are always safe; others are risky even when meant in jest. When in doubt, speak entirely in the third person and avoid the use of pronouns.

Last names are never used in address. And do not use first names alone, even with intimate friends, unless they are sure to be receptive to such familiarity.

A frequent error is use of *chǎn* for "I", instead of the polite masculine pronoun *phǒm* or the feminine *dichǎn*. *Chǎn* should be avoided by the communicator; this form is used only in conversation with inferiors, such as servants or menials, or close friends.

A woman would say *cā* (please) to a servant or a very intimate friend, *khā* to all others. If speaking English, the same rules would apply as in the United States; one would not address a superior in familiar terms.

Avoid command situations by too young a person as this tends to create jealousy, insecurity, and loss of face; authority should rest with a reasonably "old" person, because the Thai, like most Asian societies, respect seniority and hold it in high regard.

Slang should be avoided. In general the more decorous the manner, the better.

ARMED FORCES (political) and MILITARY: When addressing officers, avoid any appearance of condescension, lack of knowledge, or indecisiveness.

BUDDHIST MONKS: Avoid ordinary words for "you" as well as other terms reserved for the laity. Familiar terms of address are inadvisable.

CHINESE: If response as a Chinese minority is desired, address the group as Chinese, not as Thai or Sino-Thai.

ROYALISTS: Avoid familiar or jocular terms. It would be better to avoid using *thān* at all times; personal friendship must be well advanced before *thān* is considered polite.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTY: The term *nāg rian* (student) is generally applied below the college level and might be resented. Likewise, the term *khun khruu* (teacher), though an honorable form of address, is more appropriate at the precollege level.

Always be aware that a person may have two or more titles. The Rector of Chulalongkorn University is also an air force general, and is always addressed as General Muni *not* as Rector Muni. The highest governmental title always has precedence, and should be used unless the holder is known positively to prefer another.

WESTERN-EDUCATED ELITE: One should be cautious with slang and familiar terms, avoiding them until it is clear that the individual likes them.

Methods of Approach—Relative Effectiveness

Any contemplated approach must, of course, be assessed (and possibly modified) according to the particular situation and the context of the particular message. However, the data which follow should afford clues as to some types of approach which might be effective with the Thai generally and certain of the selected groups. They indicate which approaches may boomerang if misused, as well as those which seem more likely to mesh with basic predispositions of the people.

Ratings as to the relative effectiveness of several basic types of approaches for the COUNTRY AS A WHOLE and for selected groups which reflect the combined judgment of expert consultants, are given in Table 12.

In Table 12, rated methods of approach are those which the consultants felt could be evaluated most precisely in terms of their probable effectiveness for psychological operations. As in Table 11, seventeen consultants rated for COUNTRY AS A WHOLE, and from two to four provided ratings for the other special audiences. Consultants rated the methods of approach on a scale ranging from 1 to 5. Presented in Table 12 are average ratings for each special audience rounded to the nearest tenth. In studying the table, the comparison must be made across the figures for each separate special audience. The columns of ratings cannot be meaningfully compared up and down the table.

Except for analogy and figures of speech, which are only incidentally mentioned, a brief comment for each of the rated methods appears in the following discussion. In addition, there is mention of, or comment upon, several auxiliary approaches.

Table 12. Thailand—Relative Effectiveness of Methods of Approach *

	Personal appeal	Humor	Analogy	Emotional appeal	Figure of speech	Proverb	Satire
Country as a whole ^b -----	3.5	4.0	3.7	3.1	2.8	3.9	2.8
Administrators-----	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.0	3.5	3.5
Armed Forces (Political)-----	4.5	4.5	4.0	4.5	4.5	3.0	3.0
Buddhist Monks-----	2.5	3.7	4.0	2.0	4.0	3.5	2.5
Central Thai-----	4.5	4.5	5.0	4.0	3.0	5.0	3.0
Chinese-----	2.7	2.7	3.6	2.3	3.3	2.3	2.3
Mass-Media Personnel-----	4.0	5.0	5.0	4.5	4.5	3.5	5.0
Military:							
Enlisted Men-----	4.0	3.5	0.5	2.0	0.5	2.0	1.0
Officers-----	3.7	4.0	2.3	2.7	0.7	4.0	1.5
Professional Classes-----	4.0	2.5	3.5	2.5	3.5	3.9	1.5
Royalists-----	4.5	3.5	3.0	3.5	3.5	2.0	3.0
University Students and Faculties-----	5.0	4.7	3.7	3.7	2.5	1.3	4.3
Western-Educated Elite-----	4.5	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.5	2.0	3.0

* Compare across by column; ratings indicate relative effectiveness for the specific audience.
^b Rated as a separate audience; not a compilation.

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Any direct approach to the Thai people as a whole would require intimate knowledge of the language, which, though simple and direct, is rich in subtlety.

The persuasiveness of a *personal appeal* depends on how well the communicator (or his intermediary) is known to the audience; consequently, such an approach is more applicable to specific areas and single groups than to the Country as a Whole. Personal loyalties are extremely important, and appeals based on traditional forms of personal loyalty would have considerable persuasiveness with individuals or groups but limited general effectiveness.

The Thai sense of *humor* is keen and invoked frequently, but an error in selection or treatment can shift sympathy to the victim.

Emotional appeals would be highly effective for capitalizing on nationalistic sentiments.

Proverbs can be effective persuaders, if selected and used appropriately. Selections from well-known Thai proverbs would have maximum effect. *Proverbs, metaphors, similes, analogies*, and the like, are frequently the basis of sermons. A few English proverbs are sufficiently similar to some in Thai that a good translator could convert them; however, Western proverbs, in English or Thai, could be ineffectual or dangerous.

The Thai in general are more accustomed—and more responsive—to *satire* than are Americans. Thai satire, however, tends to be so subtle, and the response so culturally determined, that a foreigner would hardly be safe in using it; he might even be perceived as

insulting. English satire probably could not be translated effectively into Thai.

Allegories of appropriate content and format could be somewhat persuasive. Nearly all early Thai literature is in this form. However, except for everyday *figures of speech* derived from them, most allegories are "over the head" of the common man.

Quiet sincerity is the best approach and *candor* is desirable. However, unless the facts could be documented and verified, the Thai would not expect candor; they would doubt that the speaker was candid, and assume rather that he had an ax to grind.

The appeal of Western *logic* to most Thai groups is definitely limited.

Sarcasm and *ridicule* should be avoided because of probable negative effects.

Appeals based on *fear* instilled by threats would probably boomerang.

Patriotism has great appeal. In using *slogans*, it must be taken for granted that Thailand has always been independent and cherishes her independence above all else.

BUDDHIST MONKS: Appeals incorporating Buddhist *metaphysics* and Buddhist teachings would have great impact on monks, while a monk would usually feel that he should resist a *personal appeal*.

Buddhist monks have a broad sense of *humor* and enjoy the clever, or the shrewd phrase.

CHINESE: Owing to *emotional attachments*, Chinese will generally respond more readily to mainland China than to, for instance, Thailand or the United Nations. Emotional appeals would, however, tend to lose effectiveness in proportion to the amount of education or sophistication the recipient has acquired.

MILITARY OFFICERS: This group would be very responsive to the professional *military* approach.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES: The *personal appeal*, personal contact, personal relationship—together with "I do something for you, you do something for me"—are the most effective of all approaches. The implied promise of more schools, higher pay, economic advancement is also a likely basis for persuasive appeals.

Cultural Traits

Veneration of the Past

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Thailand has had a short and sketchy formal history. Its relative youth as a nation, and other elements, tend to make it more similar in some respects to the United States than to an ancient country such as China. Thus, the American communicator, while recognizing Thai culture and tradition, could effectively utilize developments in modern technology in appealing to the Thai people.

The Thai dearly love "a new thing," and take special delight in the novelties derived from Western civilization. They use the word "progress" to describe the abundance of such things as motor cars, mechanical rice mills, ball-point pens, sulfa drugs, and cameras, for example. On the other hand, many undesirable changes are blamed on Westernization, so appeals of this sort would have to be used with care.

New ways are resisted when there is fear that they will undermine the older ways. Old ways that are particularly valued include close family relationships, respect by the young for their elders, and interest in the church. By cultivating the elders, the American communicator can win respect (and also, when desiring to do so, use the natural inclination of respected older persons to favor the past over the present).

Sometimes old ways are venerated, because they are considered to have proved themselves. The communicator would be more successful by attempting to adapt the new to the old, rather than by replacing the old with the new, but the educational limitations of the old ways can be used in defending the new. Innovations are accepted when they can be seen to add security, convenience, comfort, etc., to the older ways.

There is no special veneration of the distant past beyond pride in their country's traditions and fine arts. The past, with its slavery, witchcraft trials, powerful petty rulers, and travel dangers, holds little attraction for the mass of the people. Held in high esteem are the classical Siamese dances, *khlon* (plays in which masked actors portray legends), and art.

ADMINISTRATORS: Older government workers uphold old administrative methods which younger, more Westernized, and middle-grade officials criticize. Previously the only way a person could achieve distinction and demonstrate loyalty was through service to the government. However, recent (1932) limitations on the monarchy, various coups, and changing constitutions have left government workers without a traditional framework on which appeals could be focused.

BUDDHIST MONKS: Buddhists believe that all human action is patterned. Monks adapt fairly well to changes in customs so long as the changes do not counter basic fundamentals; when this happens, they do not adapt at all. Monks are shrewd enough to perceive whether the appeal is based merely on folkways and mores, or on an understanding of the religious tradition responsible for these customs.

The Thai have not produced historians, nor does the population at large know what history is; the past is preserved in chronicles. In the chronicles, the monks study the real as well as the fabulous events in the lives of Buddha and his disciples. These events and the principles derived from them could be used to advantage in appealing

to monks to support new ways, if they can be shown to be in harmony with traditional events and principles.

Appeals for peace, for humanitarianism, for self-sacrifice toward a worthy goal, etc., are easily related to Buddhist precepts.

Inasmuch as the Buddhist hierarchy at present feels that it is losing a control that it once exercised, the group in general would be receptive to argumentation that used the calm and peaceful past as an example, or advocated a new way patterned after the past. The past is the object of virtually full-time study and devotion by monks.

CHINESE: All Chinese, including the younger generation, have high regard for age and seniority, though to a lesser extent than formerly. Communist attacks on traditional values, such as the highly cohesive family structure, have played an important part in reducing Red China's support overseas and constitute one of Taiwan's greatest appeals; however, traditional Confucian mores have generally given way to a more Western, mechanistic outlook.

Scientific excellence is revered by the younger generation; the Chinese Communists have made much of such examples of Chinese ingenuity as the invention of printing, to instill pride in Chinese scientific inventiveness and practicality. The average younger Chinese is ignorant of Chinese intellectual history. Old ways and customs are generally blamed for China's economic lag behind the West and consequent political decline. Nevertheless, appeals that recall China's glory in the days of Han and T'ang still evoke a favorable response.

MASS-MEDIA PERSONNEL: This group probably venerates the past even less than the average Thai. Mass-media personnel, especially newspapermen, tend to disparage traditional forms of authority and are critical of the institution of kingship and royalty. Usually frustrated and bitter, and lacking security and prestige, they are more susceptible to promises of the future; to "new-world" propaganda and "class-conflict" appeals.

MILITARY—OFFICERS: The past is not venerated except with regard to Buddhism, which should not be criticized.

MILITARY—ENLISTED MEN: Since serfdom was abolished as recently as 1930, many old customs are followed by the enlisted men, whose way of life and educational level have not changed sufficiently to permit modernization. Old ways cannot be criticized effectively, for enlisted men have nothing with which to compare them.

ROYALISTS: The past is particularly venerated by this group in Thailand—everything before 1932 being good. Since many royalists are descended from, or derive their titles from, King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn, references to these kings would be effective. However, when the present King advocates new ways, royalists follow.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES: Instead of venerating the past, this group tends to look toward the future. The

term *sāmājjmāj* (to be up to date) has almost magical qualities in a positive sense.

WESTERN-EDUCATED ELITE: The Western-educated often belittle older ways while being guided unconsciously by traditional values. They usually avoid conscious reversion to older ways.

Preferences Regarding Particulars vs. Generalities

No culture, of course, prefers either particulars (specifics) or generalities to the exclusion of each other; nor, in general, does any subgroup. To guide the choice and use of either particulars or generalities in framing and forming appeals to Thailand as a whole and to special audiences, the following comments are offered.

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: The Thai seem to respond more readily to particulars. Nevertheless a well-chosen cliché will often cover a multitude of specifics—and make a point more effectively. For example, it would be more effective to cite a cliché used in the culture to justify a certain necessary military action than to defend the action by a long, elaborate explanation, using a logical array of particulars.

As to level of abstraction—the lower the better: appeals invoking the relationship of the individual to his family would probably be the most effective, followed by those involving his relationship to his village or town, to his region, and country. Least effective would be appeals to humanity as a whole.

As a general rule, the Thai is not very responsive to ideological appeals. Young left-wing sympathizers or intellectual reformers are much more oriented toward thinking about “principles” than most Thai.

BUDDHIST MONKS: Buddhist monks, also, respond more readily than the general populace to principles, particularly religious ones, and are preoccupied with them in their studies and sermons. Taught to minimize immediate actualities, monks tend to cite general (religious) principles in commenting on daily events. This results not only from their religious training but also from their high degree of literacy, sophistication, and familiarity with logical systems.

CHINESE: If the appeal calls for acceptance of new concepts or ideas, particulars are more effective; if it calls for action consistent with familiar behavior patterns, then an approach based on generalities or principles may be more effective. However, Chinese are more impressed with fact than theory. Any generalities should be supported by facts which the audience can verify, if possible; promises will arouse enthusiasm only if accompanied by evidences of fulfillment.

MILITARY—OFFICERS: Thai officers respond to particulars; they appear to have great difficulty in applying general principles to a specific situation.

MILITARY—ENLISTED MEN: As enlisted men are relatively uneducated, effective reference to particulars *or* generalities beyond their experience is impossible.

PROFESSIONAL CLASSES: Professional people respond more readily to specifics, which they weigh before making a decision. They are not unresponsive to principles—with which they are familiar—but do tend not to take seriously the generalities extracted from particulars by others.

ROYALISTS: Royalists may respond equally well to both principles and particulars. However, they are not convinced of the truth of Western democratic "axioms" and are not interested in hearing them.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES: Students respond to glittering generalities. They can appreciate a principle substantiated by a specific. Faculty members do not think in abstract terms but tend to consider every situation and event as unique.

Use of Vulgarisms

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Puns and plays on words are common in Thai and are much enjoyed. Practically everybody knows these expressions. A great many phrases have a double-meaning, and experts can continue a vulgar play on words in song or poetry for hours. The language has five tones for many syllables and each tone has a distinct meaning. Changing the tone changes the meaning of a word, often from an innocent to a vulgar one. Errors of this nature by foreigners are very amusing to the Thai; if made in a seemingly ingenuous manner, such "errors" might be effective (for example, in using adjectives to describe a political opponent). However, such usage demands native fluency in the language and much care: it could create an adverse reaction.

Thai get their vulgarisms not by attributing different meanings to words which happen to be spelled alike or sound alike, but by changing the tone or consonant of the word. Changing the tone or consonant *in thought* is just as important as changing it in fact. When Thai speak to each other, they constantly look for opportunities to execute *double-entendres*. Frequently one hears conversations which are nothing but a constant flow of subtle *double-entendres*. Perhaps the most significant aspect of this whole process is the frequency with which it occurs and the amount of attention that Thai give to it. It is not to be underestimated.

Although tonal differences are clearly specified in Thai writing, many authors choose words so as to play the same game in written form also.

Thai play these verbal games not only with their own language but with English and French also. (See Mary Haas, "Interlingual Word Taboos," in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 53, 1951.)

The Thai language has two forms, elegant speech and common speech, which tend to be used respectively by the upper and lower classes. Differences are readily detectable to Thai. There are also country expressions not common in the city and vice versa; and there are expressions, in the north and northeast, which are rooted in the Lao dialect. Because the language is tonal and spelling is complicated, copy can be murdered by a typesetter; for example, *khii maa* means "ride a horse" but *khii maa* means "horse manure."

Other examples of double meaning are *khem* (salty; also "a sharp operator"), *praiw* (sour; also "a wild woman"), *tom* (boil; also "to lead up the garden path").

The word *kheig* means a guest or stranger, but is also used commonly in a derogatory sense for a native of India.

The word *phom* means the hair on the human head; the word *khon* refers to hair on other parts of the human body, to fur, and to feathers. The two words should never be confused.

The word *thaw* means foot; and even when speaking to a doctor one apologizes before introducing the word into conversation. Likewise, heels, soles, legs are not mentioned in polite society. The same is true of words referring to bodily functions. The word *khii* means dregs or refuse, also (as verb or noun) is used for feces. In the latter sense it is rarely used in polite conversation. On the other hand, *phrig khii nau* (mouse-dung pepper) is a common condiment, and the name is used by everyone.

To refer to dogs is profane. To refer to a *hta* (yard-long wallowing lizard) is profanity with a curse on the souls of ancestors.

ADMINISTRATORS: English and French words of *double-entendre* have been adopted without change into the Thai language and are used by administrators who have studied abroad.

MASS-MEDIA PERSONNEL: The most persistent use of vulgarisms is by mass-media personnel. It is not unusual to find vulgarisms in their copy.

ROYALISTS: The royalists seem thoroughly familiar with the vulgarisms of the common speech. In addressing them, one has to take care to avoid both Thai and English vulgarisms.

Pictorial And Verbal Stereotypes

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: The pictorial stereotype of the average citizen is as youthful, healthy, simply dressed (men in trousers and short-sleeved shirt with open collar, women in skirt and blouse). In a land with a plethora of uniforms, Western dress has become a mark of those educated abroad.

Physical characteristics appear to differ little among the Thai groups. The Thai themselves, however, claim to distinguish physical as well as cultural differences among the groups.

Verbal stereotypes for categories into which the Thai divide themselves both as individuals and groups are *ngoo* (stupid), *báa* (mad), and *chǎlāad* (clever). Peoples are also characterized as *cāj dīi* (good hearted), *cāj khěy* (hard hearted), *cāj rón* (hot tempered), *cāj dam* (without heart), and *cāj jen* (well balanced).

ADMINISTRATORS: An unarmed man or woman in government-service uniform is the pictorial stereotype applied by administrators to themselves. The standard uniform for administrators is khaki. Ties are seldom worn with uniforms, and junior officials frequently go without coats as well. Among the administrators, women out of uniform wear white blouses and dark skirts.

Administrators think of themselves as efficient, respected government servants. Traditionally, through government service, one demonstrates loyalty and achieves prestige and status.

Some others contend that the government servant is corrupt and too powerful. Such allegations of "corruption" do not bother administrators, since there is the general attitude that a certain amount of corruption, like the poor, is ever present. Although attacks on "corruption" dominate the antigovernment newspapers, there is no evidence of how widely such views are shared by the population as a whole.

The term "official" has local overtones, not always flattering, but is definitely a verbal stereotype used both by administrators and by others.

ARMED FORCES (political): A member of the armed forces participating in politics would be depicted wearing the uniform of his respective branch of the service. Since any officer belongs to an occupational group honored in Thailand, there is no reason to reject the pictorial association.

The only verbal stereotype would be *rǎthāprāhāan*, associated with members of the group involved in the 1932 coup. Since the name was adopted by the group themselves, it could be used when appropriate.

BUDDHIST MONKS: The pictorial stereotype of Buddhist monks is a priest with shaven head, wearing a yellow robe, standing or walking, holding his begging bowl, or sitting cross-legged in meditation. Other pictorial stereotypes associated with Buddhist monks are the stupa (*sāthāub*) (a moundlike Buddhist shrine), wheel, and sitting-Buddha image.

Phrū, the word for monk, occurs favorably in many proverbs used daily. Typically the Thai regard monks as calm, detached, self-effacing. A person having these qualities is said to have a "monk's

heart." Unqualified respect for monks is almost universal, but sometimes a former monk is criticized for retaining some of his monastic habits such as lack of practical interests, lack of knowledge of worldly matters, or failure to return the greeting gesture with two hands placed together. However, it would never be desirable to suggest any such criticism of monks in general.

As there are no critical stereotypes, all are accepted by the population and by the monks themselves.

CHINESE: Pictorially, the Chinese see themselves as hard working but poor clerks or peddlers, usually in an underdog situation. Others visualize them as rich merchants riding in big American cars. Verbally, the Chinese describe themselves as hard working, diligent, and poor, whereas the Thai speak of them as avaricious, grasping, and foreign. These stereotypes reflect the attitudes of the Chinese in Thailand, and the Thai toward the Chinese.

Chinese also identify themselves generally as *Hua Chiao* (overseas Chinese) but more commonly by their specific home areas, such as *Chao Chou*, *Hainan*, *Kung Chou*, *K'e Chia*, for example. The Thai word for Chinese is *ciin* and for an individual, *chaaw ciin*. The Thai also have a few derogatory terms (e.g., *cég*) for the Chinese.

Ciin is not a derogatory word in itself. However, a Sino-Thai who is seeking to identify with Thailand might readily resent being called a *ciin*.

MASS-MEDIA PERSONNEL: By most persons, the newsman is regarded as an unreliable, irresponsible person, usually underpaid, frustrated, often disappointed, a failure at some other occupation. Newsmen do not seem very aware of the stereotype, or at least the extent to which it is held. To a considerable degree, they seem blind to criticism or tend to rationalize it.

ROYALISTS: Royalists and others associate the group with court dress, including dress uniform, and the old-fashioned white coat and *phaa nún*. Yet the common dress is Western.

Most royalists have a title of which *móm* is the first word, so they are sometimes referred to as *móms* by themselves and others.

The English word "royalists" is also used by other Thai. However, most royalists deny that there is a "royalist" group, or that they belong to it. They argue that they are individual patriots. Every few years, some prince denies to the newspapers that any royalist group or party exists.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS are pictured by their dress: white shirts and slacks for boys, white blouses and blue or black skirts for girls. Formal student uniforms are worn on occasion. Faculty members seldom wear uniforms.

University students define themselves and are defined by others as "future leaders of the nation." This quite valid stereotype has positive connotations. University students are looked up to and admired

by the Thai public; they are *not* considered irresponsible youngsters as in the United States. There is no such thing as a town-gown problem.

Other than the rectors of the universities—who, as military men, gain fame from other sources—no particular individuals are outstanding enough to merit a popular, immediately recognizable pictorial stereotype.

In a country where education is spelled with a capital "E," the UNIVERSITY FACULTY is beyond the pale of verbal stereotypes. They are respected and admired, associated with all that is good, powerful, and virtuous. (Educators have taken over the function formerly associated with Buddhist monks, and in Thai thinking, some of the latter's virtue has rubbed off onto their present-day counterparts.)

WESTERN-EDUCATED ELITE: Pictorial stereotypes have not jelled very firmly. In its own eyes and in the eyes of others, this group is marked by Western dress: coats and ties for men, high heels for women; no hats for either.

The Thai term *hūa nōg* (outside head) is applied to the Western-educated by themselves and others. It is accepted, as practically everyone feels that a Western education is highly desirable.

"Pro-American," "pro-Western," and less flattering terms are applied by the Communists to the Western-educated as a group.

Individual verbal stereotypes in the form of descriptive nicknames are common.

Gestures and Physical Attitudes

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: The *wāaj* (hands held stationary in an attitude of prayer at a level anywhere between chest and forehead) is a universal gesture in Thailand indicating greeting, departure, appreciation, gratitude, respect, friendship. It has many subtle variations depending on the sex and status of the giver and recipient; so it is tricky to depict. The level of the hands indicates the degree of respect and also the status of both the person making the gesture and the one being greeted. The higher the hands are raised the greater the respect. Use of the *wāaj* by foreigners should be limited.

Clasped hands, though a foreign gesture, are used pictorially to represent solidarity or cooperation. Holding hands, while walking or sitting, by those of the same sex and especially among young people, is common and pleasing. However, couples, married or unmarried, never show affection publicly; in public, they ignore each other.

The Thai are a people facile in representing emotions with the hands in dancing.

The two fingers held aloft to represent "victory" is now generally understood in Thailand. Raising the arm to indicate a victor is also widely known.

Although too much gesturing with the hands is considered rude as a general rule, pointing the finger (at an object) and raising the hand to attract attention are acceptable. However, pointing a finger at a person is a sign of basic disrespect; pointing a finger at a person's head indicates contempt; and pointing a foot at someone's head is the ultimate insult.

Beckoning by extending the right arm and fluttering the hand, palm down, is common throughout Asia.

Putting the finger to the lips is a gesture of scolding. Open-handed slaps in the face are common among the lower classes. Clenched fist, and pounding the wall or table with the fist, are gestures of anger; so is stamping the foot.

The Western "thumbs down" is recognized by Bangkok Thai.

Putting one's arms around another's shoulders (but only those of a person of the same sex—like a football coach at half-time) is a sign of benevolent friendship. Putting a hand on someone's knee (again, only of the same sex) is a sign of friendship between peers.

Keeping one's head lower than the head of the person or persons to whom one is speaking is not only a sign of respect, but normal, expected behavior. Prostration (*krâab wâaj*) represents submission, and assuming a semiprostrate position, with head to the ground and arms extended with palms together, indicates the most abject worship.

Arms folded together across the chest is an attitude which represents gloom to the Thai. A swaggering man with protruding chest represents boastfulness; cartoons frequently depict overly boisterous and aggressive persons when an unfavorable impression is desired. Lying on one's back with an arm across one's forehead represents sorrow.

Pointing the foot at someone is a sign of contempt; many people will not sit with their legs crossed for fear of offending those seated across from them. Raising the heel shows contempt also. Glances of contempt and dislike are used by the Thai. When angry the Thai may not talk at all. To show contempt, he may spit.

Kissing is understood but rarely done; its counterpart is a cheek-to-cheek gesture.

A smile is the most common reaction to embarrassment. It may even be the reaction to a hurt feeling or sorrow. A Thai smiles when he does not know what else to do.

BUDDHIST MONKS: The monk blesses (much like the Western gesture), joins hands in the *wâaj*, expounds or reads (sitting cross-legged, holding palmleaf manuscripts in front of him), chants (either simply, with hands in *wâaj* position, or with fan in front). In repose, he sits cross-legged. His attitude in walking or in standing (as when receiving gifts of food in the morning) can be studied from photographs found in all picture books on Thailand. Ordinary emotions of anger, pride, ridicule, etc., are unworthy of a Buddhist monk; thus they and

the gestures which might accompany them are prohibited automatically.

CHINESE: The traditional Chinese handshake has been replaced either by the Western one or by the Thai *wáj*. There is still much bowing and "after you, please" type of hesitation when sitting down, going through doors, etc.

MASS-MEDIA PERSONNEL: Media representatives have adopted many Western mannerisms and recognize practically all American gestures.

ROYALISTS: The royalists are most prone to use polite, and avoid rude, gestures. They usually incline the head in greeting, Thai style, and are meticulous as to the position of the feet when seated. They are especially adverse to non-Thai, Western gestures, and continue to use the old gestures despite the King's efforts to replace these with more modern, Western counterparts such as shaking hands.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES: Students are well mannered on the whole and commonly use the Thai polite gestures: the *wáj* and the bow. Hand-holding between members of the same sex is common.

WESTERN-EDUCATED ELITE: The Western-educated elite are familiar with both Thai and American gestures, but probably tend to associate Thai gestures with better manners and more sincere feelings.

Influence of Magic, Myth, Religion, and Superstition

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Magic, myth, and superstition, sorcery and astrology are of prime importance to the Thai. Though some profess not to believe in them, traditions based on mythology and magic are followed. Even the highly educated, including those who have lived many years abroad, observe the admonitions of ancient superstitions and will not deny the existence of supernatural beings. Among the uneducated, particularly in rural areas, folklore practically governs the way of life. This is recognized by the monks, who incorporate folk beliefs into their teachings to induce moral conduct. Much of the myth and folklore is rooted in Brahmanism.

Animistic survivals in the culture have great weight; even the educated consider them valuable ties with their past history. The Thai believe in spirits, both good and bad; and most homes have spirit houses (which resemble birdhouses), where food is left for the spirits of the house and grounds.

Thai have great faith in astrology. Astrology is commonly used to select house locations, house numbers, business ventures, marriage dates, the most propitious day for opening of a new store, location of the family's spirit house, etc.

Prayer cords are drawn around new homes. Marriage dates are arranged by fortunetellers. In Buddhist temples, people sometimes get their "fortunes told" by choosing the rolled-up strips of paper on

which their future is written. Acceptance of astrology and fortunetelling is so complete that there would be circumstances under which the communicator could make timely use of the fortuneteller.

The communicator must be careful not to disturb Thai beliefs, and if he has some faith in them he should say so openly; for example, one American was identified with Thai in opposition to other foreigners who openly were skeptical of *phii* (spirits). Many trusted Americans have been included by Thai in magic or spirit ceremonial (e.g., the travel ceremony of application of protective wristlets). To gain such acceptance, they must not make fun, raise doubts, or evince cynicism.

The world of Thai magic, myth, and superstition is so complex that it would require a Thai mind to employ it properly in the construction of propaganda messages. To avoid making "bonehead" errors, check each usage very carefully. Also, be careful not to indicate that the group's myths are charged with magic or superstition. Americans are particularly suspect, but foreigners are universally believed to have no faith in these things.

Thai magic and superstition are much more personal than religion. Most Thai believe in and practice magic with absolutely no self-consciousness or doubt. Even so, though magic would entertain, it might boomerang, if attempted in any serious vein.

Religion, no matter whose, should be handled respectfully, and extreme care must be taken in using religious themes. An "innocent" picture of BUDDHIST MONKS enjoying their evening meal could be highly offensive—since monks do not eat between noon and sunrise. For another example, a USIS-Thailand film based on a true story of a monk who defected to Communism and later recanted, proved offensive, because a lay actor was chosen to depict the monk.

The communicator should avoid any appearance of "using" a Buddhist monk. In one parade in Northeast Thailand, local officials depicted Buddhist monks in chains, driven along the road by their "Communist master." This "propaganda use" of a symbol of Buddhism created widespread resentment.

A Thai made this comment on an anti-Communist poster which portrayed Chinese Communist soldiers murdering Buddhist monks: "How can anyone kill a monk? The person who drew this picture must have an evil heart to think of such a thing. It is impossible for anyone to kill a monk. The artist is the evil one."

BUDDHIST MONKS: Monks are very susceptible to approaches based on (and are more familiar with) magic and mythology than the country as a whole. In the rural areas, many monks function as the local wizard and healer, finder of lost articles, retriever of erring spouses, adviser to the sorrowful, chooser of auspicious moments. However, the Order is trying to eliminate the magic and superstition which are the stock in trade of many monks.

Religious themes and symbols should be handled with extreme

caution; however, appeals based on the ethical precepts of Buddhism could be well received.

CENTRAL THAI: The sophisticated would be insulted by appeals through magic, myths, and superstitions. Religion should be referred to cautiously, but sincere interest and respect shown by foreigners are appreciated.

CHINESE: Religion is not a burning issue among the Sino-Thai; there are no more than seventy or eighty Chinese Mahayana (máhāa-jaan) Buddhist priests in Thailand, and correspondingly small traces of other faiths. However, many of the more assimilated Chinese have adopted the more vital Hinayana (hinājaan) Buddhism of the Thai and appear to be reasonably devout. The American communicator would have difficulty utilizing religion as an approach.

MILITARY—OFFICERS: Spirits, spells, and charms hold credence, even with this more sophisticated group. The Buddhist religion, however, plays a very important part in their lives; it should be treated cautiously, and any criticism of religious ways should be avoided.

PROFESSIONAL CLASSES: Despite their training, some segments of this group are prone to superstition in connection with their profession.

ROYALISTS: Astrology is an important phenomenon in the royalist view of life. As guardians of past glories, the group is well informed on myth and folklore and inclined toward belief in them. With royalists, one must be especially careful not to comment on the rituals surrounding the traditional monarchy, as even favorable comment is suspect. Religion can be an effective approach to the royalists when properly employed. Casual treatment of religious themes should be avoided.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND FACULTIES: University people are quite sensitive and ambivalent in their attitude toward magic and superstition; they publicly deride it but privately practice it.

Students are practicing, devout Buddhists. A young man may enter the priesthood for a period before going to the university (or between semesters).

WESTERN-EDUCATED ELITE: Magic, myth, and superstition should not be used at all with this group. However, sincere admiration of their religion is appreciated. This group is vulnerable, but, given their overlay of Western culture, could be tricky to approach. Many are ashamed of popular magic and superstitions.

Attitudes Toward The United States

Particular Interests

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Of particular interest to the Thai are (randomly) skyscrapers; the U.S. system of government as com-

pared with their own; politics, especially at election times; Hollywood; gadgets (autos, television, refrigerators, appliances); U.S. prosperity. They also are especially interested in living conditions, family organization, kinds of houses and house furnishings, food, leisure time activities, status of women; lack of distinction in dress between classes; education, especially in rural areas; public libraries; racial problems; physical description of the country; U.S. concern for social welfare; religious tolerance.

Special audiences are interested in U.S. foreign policy as it affects their group. Individuals seek information pertaining to their own specific fields; businessmen are interested in U.S. corporate organization, sales techniques, and the like; medical men want to know about hospitals; labor people admire the AFL-CIO; social workers desire models for activities.

BUDDHIST MONKS: Buddhist monks are not interested in United States material things for themselves personally but do like anything they can get for the improvement of their temple compounds.

MILITARY—OFFICERS: In addition to curiosity about American customs and living standards, officers are interested in U.S. technology, electric power, machinery, highways, airports, military equipment and supplies, and the magnitude of U.S. military-training establishments.

Things Admired

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Thai particularly admire the friendliness of the American people and their willingness to assist others; their technical knowledge and ability, cleanliness, and ability to have fun; their high living standards; religion as a part of American life; U.S. shops and stores; U.S. mechanical products for personal comforts; American honesty and lack of corruption; the freedom of women, and women's activities, such as clubs; and the educational advantages for all classes of people. They also generally like American egalitarian attitudes toward them—so long as the American's personal dignity ("face") is properly preserved. They do not understand American generosity or particularly appreciate it—possibly, because the end products of the aid program rarely filter down to the man in the street in a form he can appreciate and credit to the proper source. Thai have imitated Americans in numerous ways, even to Mother's Day, beauty contests, and chewing gum.

BUDDHIST MONKS: Monks admire the American educational system; the universities and libraries.

CHINESE: Admiration for American technology and wealth is mixed with envy on the part of the Chinese. However, there is to some extent a natural community of interest between Chinese and Americans based on certain shared traits; for example, both tend to

be materialistic. Many overseas Chinese, who are not Communist in persuasion, are openly friendly toward Americans.

MILITARY—OFFICERS: Thai military admire the stability of the American government and its adherence to electoral procedures.

Things Criticized

COUNTRY AS A WHOLE: Thai are critical of American lack of knowledge of Thailand and of Asia generally; racial segregation in the United States; race prejudice in regard to Asians (Thai are of wide range of pigmentation, and so can see no significance in the color of people's skin); conduct of the American foreign-aid program and particularly military assistance; the conduct of some American personnel in Thailand; some of the more obvious propaganda; lack of respect for the aged; the conduct of youth; the clannishness of Americans abroad; extravagance (paying first price instead of bargaining); the attitude that the American way is the only way.

BUDDHIST MONKS: Buddhist monks are openly critical of U.S. military preparedness and U.S. materialism.

CHINESE: Chinese are particularly critical of U.S. foreign policy, its inconsistency and apparent lack of basic principle; and there is the common resentment of American "high living." However, criticism of the United States by the Chinese in Thailand is not serious and relationships are good.

LUNAR CALENDAR OF CENTRAL RURAL THAILAND

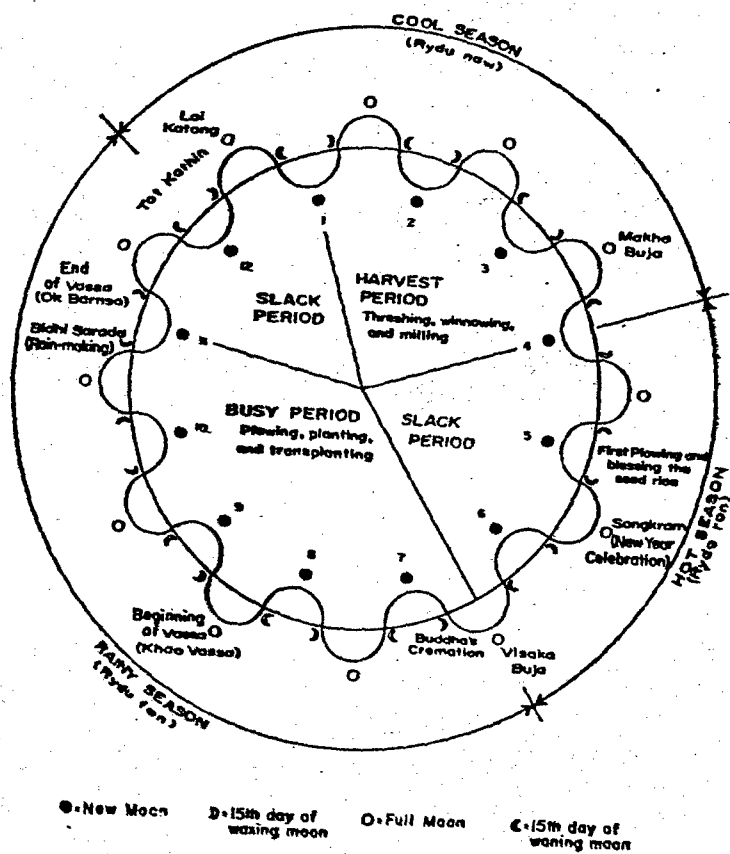


FIGURE 4.

SECTION VI

TASKS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

In this research, the work was focused upon the development of appeal ideas. By definition, an appeal idea is a line of persuasion designed to accomplish a task of psychological operations. An appeal idea, in other words, is a tool or means for achieving a specific task. Appeal idea and task are tied together in a means-end relationship. To guide consultants in developing appeal ideas, it was, therefore, necessary to construct a working list of tasks.

Such a list was prepared by reference to past psychological campaigns and on the basis of anticipated future needs. The tasks which appear on this list are relevant to the major military objectives served by psychological operations. These are—

1. To reduce the combat efficiency of the enemy military forces.
2. To further the war effort by modifying or manipulating attitudes and behaviors of special audiences.
3. To facilitate reorganization and control of occupied or liberated areas in conjunction with civil affairs and military government operations.
4. To obtain the cooperation of allies and neutrals in the war effort.

These objectives are consistent with the six projected military situations set forth in the research assumptions (see Section I, *PLAN OF THE REPORT*) and the tasks have been categorized below under the headings of these situations. The tasks have also been ordered within the broader goals of psychological operations (see Section I and Section III, *OPPORTUNITIES FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS*).

All tasks used in this study follow. Though arranged in categories, the tasks are numbered consecutively as an aid to the use of the Appeal Ideas Section (Section VII, *APPEAL IDEAS . . .*) which appears next in the report.

GENERAL LIST OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS TASKS

Part A: Tasks for Military Groups in the Armed Forces Opposing the United States

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

1. To convince enemy soldiers that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable (e.g., build up understanding of and

sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between the peoples of their country and the United States).

Goal—Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

2. To get the enemy soldiers to become confused and openly doubtful concerning the ideology and war aims of their government and the governments of their country's allies (e.g., by pointing out weak points, fallacies, and immoralities).

3. To make enemy soldiers lose faith in the ultimate victory of their side and expect the United States to be victorious.

4. To make enemy soldiers lose confidence in their own military forces (top military leaders, superiors, training, weapons and ammunition, security system, etc.).

5. To arouse and intensify among enemy soldiers a disrespect for or lack of confidence in the top national civilian leaders of their country.

6. To make enemy soldiers desire peace (i.e., make them feel the end of the war is desirable).

7. To intensify the enemy soldiers' apprehension about conditions at home.

8. To arouse and intensify nostalgia (severe melancholia, homesickness, morbid sentimentality) among enemy soldiers.

9. To promote apathy (lethargy, indifference, etc.) among enemy soldiers.

Goal—Discord

10. To get enemy enlisted men to become increasingly resentful of officers.

11. To get enemy officers to distrust their enlisted men.

12. To get enemy officers of the same grade to quarrel and fight among themselves.

13. To get one faction of enemy officers to quarrel and fight with another faction.

14. To get enemy military personnel to become distrustful of and to quarrel with political officers, and vice versa.

15. To get major elements (branches and services) of the enemy military forces to quarrel and fight with other major elements (e.g., arouse resentment among ground troops about lack of adequate naval and air support).

16. To intensify conflicts among ethnic or minority groups in the enemy military forces.

17. To arouse and intensify among enemy soldiers resentment against favored civilian groups (e.g., stress inequality of sacrifice).

18. To promote among enemy soldiers feelings of resentment toward their country's allies.

Goal—Privatization

19. To make enemy soldiers increasingly dissatisfied with military life because of its hardships (isolation, danger, cold, excessive marching, etc.).

20. To arouse resentment among enemy soldiers regarding the failure of their own military forces to provide adequate food, clothing, medical care, etc.

21. To weaken enemy soldiers' pride in and loyalty to their primary unit (squad, platoon, company, etc.).

Goal—Panic and Disorganized Behavior

22. To get enemy soldiers to panic or to behave in a disorganized manner.

Goal—Subversion and Resistance

23. To get enemy soldiers to malingering (e.g., faking diseases, injuring themselves, pretending inability to read instructions).

24. To get enemy soldiers to practice passive resistance (e.g., refusal to fight, fighting inefficiently).

25. To get enemy soldiers to become insubordinate.

26. To get enemy soldiers to commit sabotage (e.g., blowing up supplies, disabling their weapons).

Goal—Surrender, Defection, Desertion

27. To convince enemy soldiers that they will be treated well if they surrender.

28. To arouse or intensify among enemy soldiers a desire to live (e.g., overcome fatalism, convince the soldiers that true loyalty requires survival).

29. To get enemy soldiers to surrender or be captured by passive behavior (i.e., cease fighting and wait for opportunity to surrender or be captured).

30. To get enemy soldiers to desert (i.e., take to the hills).

31. To get individual soldiers to surrender.

32. To get groups or units of the opposite military forces to surrender.

Part B: Tasks for Nonmilitary Groups Residing in the Enemy Country

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

33. To convince members of the group that a U.S. victory is morally and politically desirable (build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between them and the U.S.; create an appreciation of U.S. culture and way of life; etc.).

34. To create the belief among members of the group that United States troops are liberators.

Goal—Compliance and Cooperation With the United States

35. To get members of the group to keep away from military installations, bridges, railroads, and other military objectives.

36. To get members of the group to evacuate strategically important towns or cities.

Goal—Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

37. To instill among members of the group a lack of faith in the ultimate victory of the regime under which they live and create an expectation of a United States victory.

38. To arouse and intensify among members of the group a desire for peace.

39. To create doubt and confusion among members of the group concerning the ideology and war aims of their government.

40. To arouse and intensify among members of the group disrespect for and lack of confidence in the top national leaders.

41. To arouse and intensify among members of the group disrespect for and lack of confidence in the top group leaders.

42. To arouse among members of the group nostalgia (severe melancholia, morbid sentimentality) for the generally approved aspects of the past.

43. To promote apathy among members of the group.

Goal—Discord

44. To arouse or intensify among members of the group resentment against profiteers or favored groups.

45. To promote dissension and conflict between cliques of a specified group or between the specified group and other groups in the country which have real or potential grievances against each other (excluding the government).

46. To encourage disaffection on the part of members of the group because of grievances (ethnic, religious, social, political, economic, etc.) against the government.

47. To get top national leaders to fight among themselves.

48. To promote among members of the group feelings of resentment toward their country's allies.

Goal—Privatization

49. To make members of the group dissatisfied with living conditions (poor or insufficient food, inadequate clothing, excessive restrictions, etc.).

50. To weaken groups members' pride in and loyalty to their primary group (e.g., family group, work group).

Goal—Panic and Disorganized Behavior

51. To get members of the group to panic or behave in a disorganized manner.

Goal—Subversion and Resistance

52. To get members of the group to slow down or create delays.

53. To get members of the group to malingering or practice absenteeism.

54. To get members of the group to strike.

55. To get members of the group to commit sabotage or participate in other forms of active resistance.

56. To get members of the group to organize to take part in resistance movements in enemy areas.

57. To get members of the group to revolt or to attempt secession.

Part C: Tasks for Countries or Areas Controlled by the United States Military Government or Civil Affairs (Consolidation)

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

58. To identify and strengthen among members of the group ideals held in common by the liberated country and the United States.

Goal—Encouragement

59. To help rebuild among members of the group a sense of national unity or group solidarity.

60. To help give the members of the group encouragement and hope for the future of their liberated country or area.

Goal—Compliance and Cooperation

61. To prevent among the members of the group a desire for the return to power of the defeated regime.

62. To counter rumors and false reports among members of the group.

63. To create among members of the group negative attitudes and acts toward aggressive militarism.

64. To create receptive attitudes among members of the group to changes approved by the occupation forces.

65. To help prepare the members of the group for postwar reconstruction and rehabilitation.

66. To get members of the group to assist civil affairs and/or military government in restoring law and order in occupied or liberated territories.

67. To get members of the group to support the control of civilians, displaced persons, and prisoners of war.

Part D: Tasks for Groups in Areas Occupied by the Armed Forces of the Enemy

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

68. To identify and strengthen among members of the group those ideals and values held in common by the occupied country and the United States.

69. To convince the members of the group that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable (build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between members of the group and the United States; create an appreciation of U.S. culture and way of life; etc.).

70. To create the belief among members of the group that United States troops are liberators.

71. To justify to members of the group the use of new or extraordinary weapons.

Goal—Compliance and Cooperation

72. To get members of the group to keep away from military installations, bridges, railroads, and other military objectives.

73. To get members of the group to evacuate strategically important towns and cities.

Goal—Hostility Toward and Noncooperation With the Enemy

74. To promote among members of the group feelings of resentment toward the enemy.

75. To get members of the group to oppose portions of enemy ideology by making them aware of certain traditional values which are contradictory to the enemy ideology.

76. To promote among members of the group a disbelief in the ideology and war aims of the enemy.

77. To encourage members of the group to deny manpower and food to the enemies of the United States.

78. To discourage members of the group from collaborating with the enemy.

79. To show the allies or satellites of the enemy that they will be welcome to the U.S. side if they dissociate themselves from the enemy.

Goal—Subversion and Resistance

80. To get members of the group to stage slowdowns and delays.

81. To get members of the group to malingering and practice absenteeism.

82. To get the members of the group to strike.

83. To get members of the group to commit sabotage and support other forms of active resistance.

84. To get members of the group to organize or support resistance movements in areas occupied by the enemy.

85. To get members of the group to revolt or to attempt secession.

Part E: Tasks for Groups in Countries Allied With the United States

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

86. To promote among members of the group feelings of friendship and good will toward the United States.

87. To identify and strengthen among members of the group those ideals and values held in common by the allied country and the United States.

88. To convince members of the group that the United States will not interfere in the internal affairs of their country.

89. To promote among members of the group the feeling that the war contributions and achievements of their country are appreciated.

90. To justify to members of the group the use of new or extraordinary weapons.

Goal—Encouragement

91. To make the members of the group feel hopeful about the future position of their country in the postwar world.

92. To promote among members of the group an expectation of victory for the United States and its allies.

Goal—Compliance and Cooperation

93. To get members of the group to cooperate with the United States.

Goal—Hostility Toward and Noncooperation With the Enemy

94. To promote among members of the group a disbelief in the ideology and war aims of the enemy government.

95. To arouse among members of the group hostility toward the common enemy and its leaders.

Part F: Tasks for Groups in Neutral Countries

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

96. To promote among members of the group feelings of friendship and good will toward the United States and its allies.

97. To identify and strengthen among members of the group those ideals and values held in common by the neutral country and the United States.

98. To convince members of the group that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable.

99. To promote among members of the group an expectation of victory for the United States and its allies.

100. To justify to members of the group the use of new or extraordinary weapons.

Goal—Compliance and Cooperation

101. To get members of the group to favor cooperation with the United States.

Goal—Hostility Toward and Noncooperation With the Enemy

102. To discredit among members of the group the ideology and war aims of the enemy of the United States.

103. To arouse among members of the group hostility toward the enemy of the United States, and its leaders.

104. To persuade members of the group to refuse to collaborate economically or politically with the enemy of the United States.

SECTION VII

APPEAL IDEAS OF JUDGED PERSUASIVENESS (WITH ACCOMPANYING SYMBOLS)

This section sets forth appeal ideas which may assist the psychological operator in communicating effectively with special audiences in Thailand or with the country as a whole. Those appeal ideas judged by area-specialist consultants to be (1) "higher in relative persuasiveness" or (2) "medium in relative persuasiveness" are presented here. As explained earlier, the appeal ideas are not intended to provide, nor can they furnish, ready answers to all of the operator's problems. It is expected that the operator will select, adapt, or even reject the appeal ideas according to the requirements of the current military situation, the situation of the civilian population, or considerations having to do with the media to be employed.

To obtain these appeal ideas, consultants well versed in the culture of Thailand were asked to develop on specially designed forms appeal ideas for a number of problem situations (defined as the special problem of accomplishing a task of psychological operations with or by means of a particular special audience). Only problem situations considered to be in some degree appropriate for the groups and having relatively high military importance were selected for inclusion here.

For each appeal idea a consultant developed, he was asked to describe, whenever he could, the expected reaction of the special audience, and the cultural factors which would influence the reaction. He also was asked to identify the key symbols in the appeal idea (e.g., the concepts, icons, emblems, designs, references to individuals and events, key elements in pictures or in musical selections, or gestures) and then to explain the symbolic meaning of each in terms of the group's culture. To a considerable extent, the consultants were able to comply with these requests in the more than 1,300 appeal ideas which were submitted.

Next, the research staff categorized these appeal ideas according to special audience, projected military situation, and task, and submitted them to other area specialists for judgments as to their persuasiveness. The major criteria for determining the persuasiveness of an appeal were—(1) the degree to which the appeal would gain

and hold the attention of the group members; (2) the degree to which it would be readily and completely understood by the group; (3) the degree to which it would be believed and accepted by the members of the group; (4) the degree to which it would arouse appropriate motives and emotions; (5) the degree to which it would at present evoke a similar effect among members of the group; (6) the degree to which it would evoke a similar effect in the foreseeable future, assuming no major changes occurred in the group's socio-political way of life.

Three independent ratings were obtained for each appeal idea. Only those appeal ideas which received positive ratings from all three judges and a combined relatively high rating are presented in the pages which follow. Appeal ideas which were judged likely to evoke negative or adverse effects in the specified group were eliminated from further consideration, as, of course, were those the consultants considered irrelevant.

PRESENTATION OF APPEAL IDEAS

A total of 400 appeal ideas survived this intensive and systematic examination. Many of these were also judged to be appropriate, however, for tasks or groups other than the one for which developed. This additional appropriateness is indicated by cross-references. There are some 116 such indications of multiple relevancy. It may be that more appeal ideas than have here been cross-referenced are applicable to other problem situations; but there is not empirical data to support further cross-listing. Should the operator in the field wish to extend the application of an appeal idea to other tasks and groups, he should discuss the problem with area specialists or indigenous personnel on his staff.

The appeal ideas in this section are arranged according to projected military situations and psychological operations task (see Section VI), and then by special audience. If there are several appeal ideas for a problem situation, those with the higher rating of adjudged persuasiveness, indicated by the numerical value "1," precede those with the lower rating "2."

Accompanying key symbols identified by the consultants are presented with each appeal idea. The meaning (in context) of key symbols and the expected reaction of the recipient audiences to the appeal ideas are presented directly under each appeal idea, where this is not implicitly understood, and where such information has been provided. Any comments offered by consultants regarding differential or situational effects (see Section I, RESEARCH DEFINITIONS), special conditions for use, and particular cautions to be observed, are also presented under the appeal idea. Occasionally, in suggesting alternative wordings, modifications, and special in-

fluences to bear in mind, a comment on an idea may appear to be somewhat critical in vein. However, criticism to the point of negation should not be inferred—the consultant who made the comment considered the appeal idea to have positive value.

In order to maintain the credibility of U.S. psychological activities, the operator is cautioned when selecting appeal ideas for use to make certain that any event, piece of information, or enemy action recounted in the appeal idea is essentially accurate and within the scope of what is believable to the audience. Some additional principles to be heeded in selecting appeal ideas for use are given on pages 29-31 of FM 33-5 (1955). The operator is also again reminded of the other cautions set forth in Section I regarding the use of appeal ideas.

Task 1

PROJECTED GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION

The special audience is part of the armed forces of a nation which is a foe—or an ally of a foe—of the United States.

GOAL: GOOD WILL TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

TASK 1: To convince enemy soldiers that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable (e.g., build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between the peoples of their country and the United States).

Enlisted Men

1. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Thai, why do you fight your friends?
Why do you die for Chinese slavery
instead of Thai freedom?

Key Symbols

Friends
Chinese slavery
Thai freedom

Meaning of Key Symbols: The United States has been a true friend to the Thai and has many friends among the people. Chinese domination ("slavery") would cause resentment; the Thai are very proud of their traditional freedom.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Thai should question why they are fighting their traditional U.S. friends. They should resent fighting for Chinese domination instead of for their traditional freedom.

Noncommissioned Officers

2. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

America is fighting for your freedom
from Chinese slavery. We want
only a Thailand governed by Thai
for Thai. We ask for nothing but
your help.

Key Symbols

Freedom
Chinese slavery
Governed by Thai for
Thai

Meaning of Key Symbols: Freedom—Thai are proud of their freedom; Chinese slavery—the Thai would resent Chinese domination; governed by Thai for Thai—the Thai are proud that they have continued to rule their own nation.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeal should encourage the Thai to remember that historically the United States has helped them maintain freedom from foreign domination. All we have asked in return is that they help themselves. Thus, this appeal should evoke sympathy for our aims.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 1*, developed for this task for use with Enlisted Men and judged to be appropriate also for Non-commissioned Officers, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

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Task 1, 2

Officers

*See *Appeal Idea No. 2*, developed for this task for use with Noncommissioned Officers and judged appropriate also for Officers, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

GOAL: DISCOURAGEMENT, DEFEATISM, APATHY

TASK 2: To get the enemy soldiers to become confused and openly doubtful concerning the ideology and war aims of their government and the government(s) of their country's allies (e.g., by pointing out weak points, fallacies, and immoralities).

Officers

3. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Your government has sold you out to the Chinese. You die while they live in luxury in Krung Thep (*krung thêeb*). What does your death give to your country? Only Chinese slavery!

Key Symbols

Sold out
Chinese
Luxury in *krung thêeb*
Chinese slavery

Meaning of Key Symbols: The idea of government officials selling their loyalty to the highest bidder is quite plausible in Thailand. Chinese are regarded with distaste by most Thai. High government officials live in considerable opulence in Bangkok (*krung thêeb*); Chinese domination of Thailand (Chinese "slavery") would be hated.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Most of the younger Thai resent the taking of graft by government officials, or the use of official position for personal gain. Thai in outlying areas envy the luxuries of Bangkok, and they will resent having to fight while others enjoy these luxuries. The thought that the eventual result will be slavery for Thailand will further increase resentment.

Task 2

4. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration with title at top "*The Chinese Want to Enslave the Thai*": Show a huge Chinese officer with a big whip standing over a body of Thai soldiers on their knees in supplication to him. Printed in background (in Thai) are the words of the old song "Chinese and Thai are relatives/must love and help each other forever."

Caption: "The Chinese said they came as brothers, but they make slaves."

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Thai take great pride in being free men; consequently, this kind of appeal would help engender apathy, listlessness, unwillingness to fight, and loss of confidence in Chinese promises.

Key Symbols

Overlord with whip
Helpless Thai

5. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Your leaders led you into this war to line their pockets with your ally's gold. You have no common cause with them. They are evil men, with none of the Thai high Buddhist principles. They would let your ally subvert your whole way of life. Assume static frontal situation, leaving soldiers plenty of time to discuss the war.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeal would provoke debate among the officers concerning the causes of the war and the virtues of their government's war.

Key Symbols

Corruption
Buddhist principles

*See *Appeal Idea No. 312*, developed for Task 76 for use with Armed Forces (Political), and judged appropriate also for Military Officers for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Task 3, 4

TASK 3: To make enemy soldiers lose faith in the ultimate victory of their side and/or expect the United States to be victorious.

Noncommissioned Officers

3. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Thai soldiers, you have seen the power of American equipment. You have seen the power of the American Army. You cannot win.

Key Symbols

American equipment
American Army

Meaning of Key Symbols: American equipment and the U.S. Army are held in considerable esteem by the Thai. Many have seen both at close range.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This is an appeal of questionable effect; however, it should remind Thai of the power they have seen demonstrated by the American military. Those who had an excellent chance to observe this at close hand should wonder about their ability to win.

TASK 4: To make enemy soldiers lose confidence in their own military forces (top military leaders, superiors, training, weapons and ammunition, security system, etc.).

Noncommissioned Officers

7. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Why do you fight without gasoline, ammunition, and spare parts? There is plenty in *kruy thêeb*.

Key Symbols

Gasoline, ammunition,
and spare parts
"Plenty in *kruy thêeb*"

Meaning of Key Symbols: Gasoline, ammunition, and spare parts are habitually in short supply in Thai up-country and field units. Thai know that units in Bangkok (*kruy thêeb*) normally have much of what they want.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Up-country units resent even the peacetime shortages in gasoline, ammunition, and spare parts, while units in Bangkok, close to depots, have everything they need. The shortages usually result either from the up-country units' lack of political "pull," bureaucratic red tape, or lack of funds.

Task 4, 5, 6

8. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Machinegun or mortar squad with noncom and men in firing position. Only a few rounds of ammunition are available. Show fear on faces of men.

Caption: (Sergeant says) "How can we fight without ammunition?"

(Assume long, hard defensive campaign usually under heavy pressure from better-armed opponents.)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Because their leaders cannot provide adequate combat supplies, troops would probably leave their weapons and surrender or fall back.

Key Symbols

Concept of self-preservation

TASK 5: To arouse and intensify among enemy soldiers a disrespect for or lack of confidence in the top national civilian leaders of their country.

Frontier Police

9. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Your leaders offer nothing but broken promises.

While you make sacrifices, your leaders are hoarding ever-increasing wealth.

As your life is in danger, consider how safe your leaders make themselves!

Key Symbols

Your life in danger
(leaders are safe)

TASK 6: To make enemy soldiers desire peace (i.e., make them feel the end of the war is desirable).

Officers

10. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

For leaflets: Your false ally is retreating; United States desires peaceful settlement, and offers liberty and freedom.

(Assume ally (foe of United States) is retreating.)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This should encourage officers to resist orders to continue fighting.

Key Symbols

Peaceful settlement
Liberty and freedom

Task 6, 7

11. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Why are you committing suicide by fighting for the Chinese (or a particular government)?
It's time to go home and take care of your family.

Key Symbols

Suicide
Fighting
Chinese
Home and family

Meaning of Key Symbols: Suicide is a very serious sin in Buddhism. Fighting is distasteful to most peaceloving Thai. Many Thai resent the influence of the Chinese. Although somewhat immoral in their sexual behavior, by American standards, Thai men love their homes and families.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The thought of committing suicide should evoke fear; to do it for the Chinese should be particularly distasteful. Thoughts of home and family should evoke a desire to get away from the fighting.

12. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Thai officers: You can save your military forces and your own careers by laying down your arms now. The wise military man is one who knows when to stop fighting and end needless slaughter. Don't heed fanatical political leaders who would lead you to complete destruction. Buddha loves peace.

Key Symbols

Preservation of military careers
Peace—Buddha
Fanatical political leaders

Meaning of Key Symbols: Preservation of their military careers means continuation of the officers' livelihood. The Buddhist religion teaches that violence is sinful.

TASK 7: To intensify the enemy soldiers' apprehension about conditions at home.

Frontier Police

13. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Thin, sick-looking woman; nothing to eat at home; children lying sick in bed, no medicine, and no one to take care of them.
Caption: "Is this *your* family?"

Key Symbols

Poor conditions and illness at home

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The morale of the frontier police would be lowered, and any of them receiving unpleasant news from home would be likely to go AWOL or desert, especially if under strain from duty.

Task 7

Noncommissioned Officers

14. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Communist leader separating mothers from families (children, as all able-bodied men are assumed to be fighting) sending mothers in one direction, children in another, each group heading for its own type of concentration camp.

Caption: "It is now that you are needed at home."

Key Symbols

Separation of family

Meaning of Key Symbol: The separation of children from their mothers is distressing to parents, particularly in closely knit families such as the Thai.

15. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Neglected land and dejected family.

Caption: "Soldier go home, your wife and children are sick and your lands are lying idle, Buddha does not travel with you in your unjust war."

Key Symbols

Illness in family

Idle land

Buddha

Unjust war

Meaning of Key Symbols: His family and home are very important to the Thai soldier, who is usually poor and insecure. Buddha's approval is a paramount consideration in all undertakings.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This kind of appeal should result in general unrest and lowered efficiency.

Comment: References to Buddha should be used with caution. The basic appeal idea can be used without the reference to Buddha.

16. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Who's feeding your family now?
Are your children still plump and healthy?

Key Symbols

Concept of paternal love

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Soldiers often desert in order to be able to feed their families properly.

Task 7, 8

17. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Group of refugees, tired and lean, wearing only the *phaa khamda* (loincloth).

Caption: "Your family, your friends are forced to leave home. Many have only their *phaa khamda*."

(Assumes some known movement of civilian refugees.)

Key Symbols

Forced to leave home

18. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A wife and her children, perhaps also an elderly grandmother, at home.

Caption: "Military men should not neglect their families."

(Assumes that the military men are stationed away from home but near enough to go AWOL to pay visits.)

Key Symbols

Should not neglect family

TASK 8: To arouse and intensify nostalgia (severe melancholia, homesickness, morbid sentimentality) among enemy soldiers.

Frontier Police

19. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Several family groups on bank of river (or in small boats) participating in *lɔɔj kràthɔŋ* festival. (The first verse of the popular folk song about this festival might be printed.)

Caption: "Go home for *lɔɔj kràthɔŋ*." (Assumes long period of intensive combat.)

Key Symbols

lɔɔj kràthɔŋ festival

Meaning of Key Symbol: *lɔɔj kràthɔŋ* reflects freedom of spirit as well as freedom of person; the festival is one to which the Thai have a great sentimental attachment.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This might even encourage men to go AWOL and return home for a few days, in order to be with their families during the festival.

Comment: As presented here, this appeal idea might also be suitable as an appeal to achieve desertion. To evoke nostalgia, a variant caption might be: "Wouldn't it be nice (*sànuŋ*) to be home for *lɔɔj kràthɔŋ*?" or, "Everyone should be with his family at *lɔɔj kràthɔŋ*."

Task 8, 10

**See Appeal Idea No. 149, developed for Task 42, for use with Armed Forces (political) and judged appropriate also for Frontier Police for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.*

20. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Remember how you enjoyed the New Years' celebrations (or other celebration appropriate to season) in your home village—with your wife—your son? Are you enjoying yourself?

New Years' celebration

Meaning of Key Symbol: This is an especially important celebration to the Thai.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: An appeal of this kind would evoke thoughts of the "good old days" and probably encourage homesickness.

**See Appeal No. 150, developed for Task 42, for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Frontier Police for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.*

GOAL: DISCORD

TASK 10: To get enemy enlisted men to become increasingly resentful of officers.

Noncommissioned Officers

21. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Officers enjoying themselves with a bottle.

Méekhoon (whiskey)

Caption: "Noncoms! How much *méekhoon* are you getting?"

Meaning of Key Symbol: *Méekhoon* is the national whiskey; it is a symbol of good living and festivity. There is a vast social chasm between officers and NCO's. Officers customarily live as well in the field as they can, and tend to give little thought to the comfort of the NCO's and enlisted men.

Comment: This appeal idea should be used with caution since the consumption of alcohol is not compatible with Buddhism—although some Thai do drink, and sometimes to excess.

Task 11, 12

TASK 11: To get enemy officers to distrust their enlisted men.

Officers

22. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Your men are cowards and disappear when fighting is heavy and hardships are great. They hate you and will stab you when you turn your back. They spit in your food.

Key Symbols

They spit in your food

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: An appeal of this kind should evoke a fear of death or injury at the hands of traitorous troops.

23. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Officer in background, two enlisted men squatting. Balloon indicates one of the latter says, "Never mind."

Key Symbols

"Never mind"

Caption: "Your soldiers listen, but do they understand? Do you think they care?"

Comment: Differential Effect—The illustration and caption would create an adverse effect on any enlisted men who saw them.

TASK 12: To get enemy officers of the same grade to quarrel and fight among themselves.

Officers

24. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

You cannot expect equality with the politically favored. Who gets the promotions? Whose wishes prevail?

Key Symbols

The politically favored

25. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Why are you in this remote post fighting the enemy while other officers are in Bangkok, enjoying life at the military academy as an instructor or with some other comfortable assignment?

Key Symbols

Military academy

Meaning of Key Symbol: This key symbol represents another facet of the caste system.

Task 12, 13, 15

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: An appeal of this kind should encourage feelings of jealousy among the nonregular army officers towards academy graduates.

26. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: One captain asking another, "Where are you going?"
Caption: "Is he really your very good friend? Why are some of your friends called into Bangkok so often? When did you go last?"

Concept of favoritism

TASK 13: To get one faction of enemy officers to quarrel and fight with another faction.

Enlisted Men

27. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Take care, the officers and men of ----- (name of rival faction) are being favored by the top military leaders. Yours will be the dangerous and unrecognized jobs.

Favoritism

Comment: *Differential Effect*—This appeal idea would have an adverse effect on the rival faction(s) named.

TASK 15: To get major elements (branches and services) of the enemy military forces to quarrel and fight with other major elements (e.g., arouse resentment among ground troops about lack of adequate naval and air support).

Noncommissioned Officers

28. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Why doesn't ordnance (or signal) keep your equipment operating? Where are the spare parts? Go to the "market" and see!

Ordnance (or signal)
Spare parts
Market

Meaning of Key Symbols: The typical Thai unit complains about ordnance and signal support of equipment; rarely do repair units get out into the field. The sale of spare parts to civilians is notorious; often army equipment can be bought in the town market—the shop center.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeal should intensify resentment at not getting proper support from ordnance and arouse and increase suspicion that ordnance personnel have been selling the needed parts.

Task 15, 16

Officers

29. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

"General ----- and his (police, tanks, marines) are planning to seize the government. They are the real enemies of the King and people. Strike first."

Key Symbols

Police
Tanks
Marines
King and people
Concept of coup

Meaning of Key Symbols: Particularly under the regime of General Phao, since exiled, the people and army came to strongly resent and greatly fear the police. The Thai consider tanks the most effective instruments of a coup; thus, control of the tank units carries with it considerable political power. Marines have participated, with considerable effectiveness, in coups; the army distrusts them. "King and people" is equated with patriotism. Coups are quite usual in Thailand; hence the concept has definite meaning.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The police, tanks, and marines have been used very effectively in recent coups. In view of the power that lies in control of these, the idea that a coup is planned by the man or men who control them is plausible. Also considerable ill feeling exists between these forces and other segments of the military. Thus, feelings of resentment and patriotism might combine to provoke overt action.

TASK 16: To intensify conflicts among ethnic and/or minority groups in the enemy military forces.

Noncommissioned Officers

30. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

You are slaves of Chinese money.
Thai should rule Thailand.

Key Symbols

Chinese money
Thai should rule
Thailand

Meaning of Key Symbols: Chinese businessmen and merchants have most of the money in Thailand. Thai insist on being able to control their own destiny.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeal may be effective in directing the Thai's generalized resentment of Chinese against the Thailand Chinese serving in the army.

Task 16, 17

31. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Noncommissioned officer in Thai uniform (but distinctly Chinese in features) whispering with an officer in the uniform of the Chinese Reds.

Caption: "Can we trust the Chinese?"
(More effective in a military stalemate.)

Key Symbols

Concept of treachery

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: An appeal of this nature would evoke greater distrust of an ethnic group already under suspicion.

32. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Thai soldiers! The Chinese among you are betraying you to the corrupt leader of your ally.

Watch them, and when you find them, kill them.

Key Symbols

Chinese

Corruption

Betrayal

Violence

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: An appeal idea of this kind should increase the suspicion of Chinese which already exists among the Thai, and reinforce the NCO's resentment at the domination of their country by an alien people.

Comment: This appeal idea should be used with caution; ordinarily, the Thai would not respond to an appeal to extreme violence without extreme provocation.

TASK 17: To arouse and intensify among enemy soldiers resentment against favored civilian groups (e.g., stress inequality of sacrifice).

Enlisted Men

*See *Appeal Idea No. 30*, developed for Task 16 for use with Noncommissioned Officers and judged appropriate also for Enlisted Men, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Task 18

TASK 18: To promote among enemy soldiers feelings of resentment toward their country's allies.

Frontier Police

33. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Two-panel drawing, the first panel showing a Frontier Policeman in uniform being accorded friendly respect by his village countrymen, and the second showing the same man being forced to saw logs by a Chinese overseer.

Caption: "From this to this—a Chinaman's job."

Key Symbols

Policeman—respect
Policeman—menial
labor

Meaning of Key Symbols: Hard physical labor is anathema to the Thai, particularly the officials, who believe that they are above hard work.

Comment: The conditions depicted must actually exist if this appeal idea is to have meaning or be effective.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 186*, developed for Task 48 for use with Administrators, and judged appropriate also for Frontier Police for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Officers

34. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Two-panel illustration, the first showing troops in Chinese uniforms squatting around large rice pot eating from well-filled bowls, and the second showing similar group of Thai soldiers around small pot eating smaller quantity of rice.

Caption: "Do the Chinese fight as well as they eat?"

Key Symbols

Contrast in treatment
of Chinese and
Thai troops

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This type of appeal should intensify Thai resentment of the disparity between the treatment of their soldiers and those of their ally, and encourage them to demand equal treatment of their troops.

35. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Foreign generals are giving orders to Thai generals; the latter are running around, bumping into each other.

Caption: "Who is our boss?"

Key Symbols

Concept of national
pride and national
dignity

Task 18, 19

36. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

The Chinese have made you slaves in your own country. For the first time, Thailand is not free.

Key Symbols

Chinese
Slaves in own country
Loss of freedom

Meaning of Key Symbols: Many Thai resent and fear Chinese influence. To be slaves in their own country, under the domination of a foreign power, would be unthinkable; the Thai are proud of their long history of freedom from outside domination.

37. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Thai! You pride yourself on being free men. Your ally is ruling you, keeping you in the war for a lost cause and making you bear the burden of the worst fighting. Your casualties show how heavily you are losing. You fight for your ally, not yourselves. We have no hostility toward you.

(Assumes heavy frontal pressure on Thai units.)

Key Symbols

Freedom
Casualties in heavy fighting

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Thai take great pride in their freedom.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: An appeal of this type should encourage the officers to quarrel with their ally's troops and refuse to cooperate with them.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 297*, developed for Task 74 for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged to be appropriate also for Military Officers for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

GOAL: PRIVATIZATION

TASK 19: To make enemy soldiers increasingly dissatisfied with military life because of its hardships (isolation, danger, cold, excessive marching, etc.).

Noncommissioned Officers

38. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

"Why are you slaving for the Chinese? Work without profit, for the exploiter of Thailand is the action of a fool."

Key Symbols

Slaving for the Chinese

Task 19

39. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: A full rice bowl or an excellent rice crop in the field.

Caption: "When America was your ally, your bowl was full."

Key Symbols

Full rice bowl or good rice crop

Meaning of Key Symbol: Rice is food and food is a good life; if there is sufficient rice, Thai can almost invariably be happy.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: A reminder that the United States did not exploit her SEATO allies should not only increase their dissatisfaction with their present lot, but also create a feeling of good will toward the United States.

40. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Two-panel illustration, the first showing a group of Thai soldiers squatting in a semi-circle and talking, and the second showing activities of a typical family group—wife, children, parents—cooking rice or eating around the family pot. Show infant in wife's arms, sucking exposed breast.

Caption: "Husband should join his family."

(Assumes that the men have been away from home for several months.)

Key Symbols

Thai family

Meaning of Key Symbol: Thai men are very closely attached to their families.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeal should increase the NCO's dissatisfaction with military life to the point where they might even go AWOL.

41. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

While your friends in Bangkok have the comforts of life and are living close together, you are guarding this remote outpost of -----

Key Symbols

Living close together

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Thai are extremely gregarious. Living close together is very important to them.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The unrest and subsequent reaction resulting from this appeal would depend on morale and discipline factors.

Task 19

42. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Soldiers! The war has brought you nothing but misery—starvation, disease, discomfort. Why fight on? Peace means a good life. Quit now! (Probably most useful in the north and northeast of Thailand in the winter months.)

Key Symbols

War—misery
Peace—comfort

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Thai have great love for the material comforts.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Under certain conditions this type of appeal should increase noncommissioned officers' dissatisfaction with military life to the point where they might detach themselves from the war effort, either by malingering or by absenting themselves from their units. However, its persuasiveness is contingent on the privations experienced by the Thai army in the field.

43. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Why do you go hungry and die while your friends are happy at home with their wives and girls?

(Assumes NCO's must really be dying, going hungry and enduring hardships—by their standards.)

Key Symbols

Hunger
Home, wife, sweetheart

Comment: While this group has a strong attachment to their homes, it should be remembered that at least in peacetime most NCO's come from the same province where the units are located. Furthermore, up-country Thai are quite used to conditions that Americans consider hardships, so it is possible that no appeal designed for accomplishing this task would be extremely effective under any circumstances.

Task 20

TASK 20: To arouse resentment among enemy soldiers regarding the failure of their own military forces to provide adequate food, clothing, medical care, etc.

Frontier Police

44. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Police chiefs in Bangkok live high with many wives while they fail to provide you with adequate food and clothing.

Key Symbols

Live high in Bangkok

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would intensify resentment against Bangkok officials, especially among group members who are stationed in rural areas, and tend to distract their attention from their duties.

45. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Are your leaders in Bangkok seeing to it that you have adequate medical care? Food? Beverage? Think about this.

Key Symbols

Concept of needless shortages

Comment: This appeal idea should not be used if the police are as well off under the assumed alliance with the foe of the United States as they were when Thailand enjoyed friendly relations with the United States, and the police were trained by Americans.

Officers

46. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Obese leaders of government (at home) living off the "fat of the land."

A sumptuous banquet table would be the motif.

Caption: "Do they care about you?"

Key Symbols

Do they care?

47. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Officers, you have been betrayed by the government. They live in luxury in Krung Thep (krung thêeb) off the lottery and taxes while they keep you fighting (working) for the Chinese without budget for food, gasoline, ammo, spare parts, and medical care.

Key Symbols

Krung Thep
Lottery
Budget
Chinese
Betrayal

Task 20

Meaning of Key Symbols: Officers hate to be assigned away from Krung Thep (Bangkok), with its comforts. Most upper-class Thai suspect that funds from the lottery, which they all love to play, are diverted into the pockets of government officials. Thai officers are given to attributing their lack of initiative and energy in overcoming their problems to their lack of "budget." Both "betrayal" and "Chinese" are emotion-laden terms.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The mention of betrayal would get their attention, while the thought of politicians living in comfort while the officers fought for the Chinese would intensify their dissatisfaction and lead them to use lack of "budget" as an excuse for inactivity.

48. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Officers! How about the politicians back home? Are they starving so you soldiers can eat well, or are they enjoying life while you suffer?

Key Symbols

Politicians

49. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Cartoon or drawing depicting black marketeer with drugs and a soldier dying for lack of them.

Caption: "Are your soldiers sick?"

Key Symbols

Civilian profiteer

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would cause them to demand from higher authorities the supplies they need, which would tend to increase civilian-military friction. If the supplies were not forthcoming the officers would lose face; this in turn would result in a decline in their leadership capacity.

50. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A soldier (in uniform appropriate to rank and branch of service) lying sick on the ground with friend squatting beside him.

Caption: "You ask 'Have we medicine?' 'Have we cigarettes?' 'Where are the supplies?' The supplies do not come."

(Assumes some strain on normal supply channels.)

Key Symbols

The supplies do not come

Task 22

GOAL: PANIC

Task 22: To get enemy soldiers to panic or to behave in a disorganized manner.

Officers

51. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: A battlefield where the United States exhibits great superiority in planes, weapons, ammunition, and men. Thai defending only with rifles and mortars.

Caption: "The Americans have many planes, weapons and men—they will defeat those who oppose them!"

Comment: *Situational Effect*—While this appeal idea may be conducive to the desired reaction, it would certainly not increase favorable feeling toward the United States.

Key Symbols

United States will
defeat those who
oppose

52. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Bombs destroying particular city which it is desired to have evacuated.

Caption: "Get out now while you can."

(Assumes a demonstrated capability for bombing of Thai objectives by U.S.)

Comment: (See Appeal Idea No. 51) *Situational Effect*—While this appeal may be conducive to the desired reaction it would certainly not increase favorable feeling toward the United States.

Key Symbols

Get out now

53. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Flee while you can. The U.S. attack grows. Today it was two villages. Next week it will be ten. Save yourself while you can. Our new weapons will overwhelm you. Your troops can't withstand our assault. Your support forces crumble under our bombing.

(Assumes growing military pressure.)

Key Symbols

New weapons
Support forces

Task 22, 23

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to influence officers to order their units to retreat in order to avoid the risk of being isolated and shut off from their supplies of food, medicines, and other essentials.

Comment: (See Appeal Idea No. 51) *Situational Effect*—While this appeal may be conducive to the desired reaction, it would certainly not increase favorable feeling toward the United States.

GOAL: SUBVERSION AND RESISTANCE

Task 23: To get enemy soldiers to malingering (e.g., faking diseases, injuring themselves, pretending inability to read instructions).

Enlisted Men

54. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Your family and friends will consider you a real hero if you return to protect them. Feign illness and be sent home. It will also be a joke on your officers.

Key Symbols

Real hero

*See *Appeal Idea No. 210*, developed for Task 52, for use with Mass-Media Personnel and judged appropriate for Enlisted Men for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

55. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

If you can convince your officers that you are ill, you can be removed from the danger zone.

Key Symbols

Removed from danger zone

Comment: The persuasiveness of such an appeal idea would depend upon the way "sick" personnel are treated—whether they are in fact returned to rear areas, etc.

56. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

You can earn a well deserved rest safe in the interior by "arranging" to lose only a toe or a finger. Be safe! Your companions do this.

Key Symbols

Be safe!

Task 24

TASK 24: To get enemy soldiers to practice passive resistance (e.g., refusal to fight, fighting inefficiently, delaying action).

Frontier Police

57. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

You Thai are fighting a lost cause. Those who forced you into the war on their side, can't supply you with food, clothing, and weapons. You are cannon fodder for them. Stop this senseless resistance now. Your officers and the army (navy, air force) are unable to help you and your comrades grow restless. They have lost the will to fight and want peace.

Key Symbols

Lack of supplies
Cannon fodder
False ally

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to destroy confidence in the other branches of service and in Thailand's ally, and lead to a refusal to cooperate willingly with the other branches of the ally.

58. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Large number of U.S. transports disgorging men and supplies in an endless stream; show sky filled with American airplanes as far as eye can see.

Key Symbols

U.S. power

Caption: "How can you hope to win with an opponent that is so rich and powerful?"

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: By emphasizing the superior military capability of the United States, it would tend to spread and reinforce the fatalistic fear of the Thai that they could never hope to defeat such a powerful nation.

Comment: It has been suggested that the caption be eliminated and the transports and equipment clearly labelled as that of the United States, thus letting the illustration speak for itself. It must be borne in mind, however, that this sort of appeal idea would have to convince the audience that the superiority of U.S. material and troop training outweighs the Communist advantage in sheer numbers of men, in order to overcome the effect of the already well-established awareness of the "hordes" of manpower available to the Chinese.

Task 24

*See *Appeal Idea No. 59*, developed for this task for use with Noncommissioned Officers and judged appropriate also for Frontier Police with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Noncommissioned Officers

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>59. <i>Appeal Idea</i> (Rating: 1)</p> <p>What is your pay for dying? What do you get for fighting this war? Only slavery to the Chinese.</p> | <p><i>Key Symbols</i></p> <p>Pay for dying
Slaves of Chinese</p> |
|--|--|

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would cause the NCO to wonder what he himself is getting out of fighting and possibly dying, especially if the thought is implanted that even if he survives, his sacrifice will lead only to enslavement by the Chinese.

Officers

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>60. <i>Appeal Idea</i> (Rating: 1)</p> <p>You have been betrayed by the government. They have sold out for Chinese money, and now you fight for China instead of Thailand. Thailand is no longer free.</p> | <p><i>Key Symbols</i></p> <p>Betrayal
Chinese money
Fight for China
Free Thailand</p> |
|---|---|

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would arouse strong resentment and even hatred among the group. The concept of betrayal would get attention and the idea of government officials "selling out" for "Chinese money" is plausible to members of this group.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>61. <i>Appeal Idea</i> (Rating: 1)</p> <p>Thai military men (<i>tháhāan</i>), don't overwork yourselves for the <i>cэг</i>.</p> | <p><i>Key Symbols</i></p> <p><i>cэг</i> (Chinese)</p> |
|--|---|

Meaning of Key Symbol: A derisive and contemptuous term for Chinese, similar to the slang term Chink.

Task 24, 26, 27

62. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

"Those who forced you into the war on their side, can't supply you with food, clothes, and weapons. Stop this senseless resistance now. Your noncoms, enlisted men, and police want peace and have lost the will to fight."

Key Symbols

Lack of supplies
False ally

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to persuade officers to withhold their troops from action until their complaints to headquarters about the lack of necessary supplies were answered or satisfied.

Task: 26: To get enemy soldiers to commit sabotage (e.g., blowing up supplies, disabling their weapons).

Frontier Police

63. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

(Verbal) The Communists will be defeated because they are anti-Buddha, but you can help.

(The military trend would have to be relatively favorable to the United States.)

Key Symbols

Anti-Buddha

Meaning of Key Symbol: In the view of a religious or superstitious Thai, to oppose Buddha is to pit one-self against the inevitable.

GOAL: SURRENDER, DEFECTION, DESERTION

TASK 27: To convince enemy soldiers that they will be treated well if they surrender.

Frontier Police

64. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Comfortably sleeping POW's in clean, neat quarters; the POW's pictured with contented expressions.

Caption: "Now we rest in pleasant surroundings, later we will return to our families alive and well."

Key Symbols

Comfortable POW
quarters
Self-preservation

Task 27

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: As a play on basic human nature this sort of appeal should strike a responsive cord in the group.

65. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Reasonably clean and comfortably garbed POW group seated at mess table with large rice bowl as centerpiece surrounded by other miscellaneous receptacles containing food. Show American guard (no gun, only police stick on belt) smiling broadly and saying, "Thai soldiers certainly do like to eat."

Key Symbols

Ample food
Friendly guard
Respect of one soldier for another

Meaning of Key Symbols: Americans feed and treat POW's well.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 80*, developed for Task 31 for use with Officers and judged appropriate also for Frontier Police for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

66. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Do you wish to be spared from the holocaust of war so that your family may once again see you? Surrender now—you will be removed to a safe zone and treated well!

Key Symbols

Self-preservation
Love of family
Revulsion to the horrors of war

Meaning of Key Symbols: Basic human instincts.

67. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Sick POW's in U.S. compound resting peacefully on cot. All kinds of medicines and drugs on bedstand.

Key Symbols

Drugs and medicines
Peaceful compound

Caption: "Drugs available. Rest peacefully."

Meaning of Key Symbols: Drugs and medicines, always in short supply outside of Bangkok, are highly valued by the Thai armed forces. Peace signifies relief from war conditions.

Comment: This appeal idea should be used cautiously, as the idea of a hospital might create anxiety or fear among some members of this group.

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Task 27

Noncommissioned Officers

68. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

We fight the Chinese, not the Thai.
Join us as friends and you will be
treated as friends. Remember
World War II.

Key Symbols

Chinese enemy
American friends
World War II

Meaning of Key Symbols: Most Thai dislike the influence of the Chinese both in Thailand and in Asia. Thai generally consider Americans their friends. They remember that the United States did not declare war on Thailand in World War II.

69. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Soldiers of Thailand! The United States is not your real enemy, we do not wish to fight you! Surrender and you will be treated well, according to the Geneva Convention.

Key Symbols

U.S. not your real enemy

Officers

70. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: (1) POW's with contented, happy countenances eating a plentiful meal of Thai food.

Caption: "They have plenty to eat, do you?"

Illustration: (2) POW's sleeping comfortably and contentedly.

Caption: "They are safe and among real friends—are you?"

Illustration: (3) Happy POW's bathing (wearing bathing cloth) in clean area with modern equipment.

Caption: "This could be you—safe and clean."

Key Symbols

Food and comfort

71. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Photograph of happy Thai POW's in pleasant U.S. compound eating a large meal of recognizable Thai favorite fare.

Key Symbols

Food

Task 27, 29

72. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Photograph of Thai POW's in U.S. compound playing outdoor games, known and liked by Thai men, with other groups watching with pleased interest and conversing pleasantly and smiling.

Key Symbols

Playing games
Concept of safety and comfort

TASK 29: To get enemy soldiers to surrender or be captured by passive behavior (i.e., cease fighting and wait for opportunity to surrender or be captured).

Enlisted Men

73. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Left-hand picture: Enlisted man, wearing dirty, torn uniform, hungry. Caption: "Enlisted men are treated like pigs."

Right-hand picture: U.S. POW camp, with Hollywood movies, plenty of food.

Caption: "Good treatment in U.S. camp."

Center picture, with dotted line to side pictures: jungle or forest underbrush.

Caption: "A good hiding place to wait in, until time to surrender."

Key Symbols

Treated like pigs

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Low morale is accentuated by contrast of conditions. The soldier is encouraged by explicit instructions for desertion.

74. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Thai military leaders are preparing to end the war with surrender. Don't risk your lives by any further acts of war against us. Your officers know where to take you for safety until we can accept your surrender. You have fought a courageous fight, but superior strength is ours. No dishonor falls on you.

(Assumes Thai forces are near defeat.)

Key Symbols

Safety and survival
Honorable surrender
Save face

Task 29

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The men's instinct for survival would be tempered by their humiliation at surrendering unless they could view their surrender as an honorable act. Under honorable surrender conditions they would retain their respect and have no fear of public disapproval.

Noncommissioned Officers

75. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Your officers are preparing to surrender all their units. You need not fight any more. We shall soon accept your surrender. Meanwhile, see that hotheads who want to keep on fighting are restrained. You have fought a courageous fight, but we have superior strength. No dishonor falls on you.

(Assumes Thai forces are near defeat.)

Meaning of Key Symbols: Opportunity to preserve self-respect in a negative situation.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The soldier, distrusting his officers and fellow men, realizing U.S. superiority, and seeing the inevitable end, could still retain satisfaction of his own courageous effort.

Key Symbols

End of war near
Restraint of hotheads
Surrender
Courageous effort
Superior U.S. strength

Officers

76. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Your junior officers and enlisted men want peace. Withdraw them to a safe place and wait for us to accept your surrender. If you cease fighting, you have nothing to fear. You are responsible to see that they commit no further acts of war against us. Your fight has been brave, but superior strength is ours. No loss of face.

(Assumes Thai forces are near defeat.)

Meaning of Key Symbols: Human instinct for survival coupled with tradition of public esteem and self-respect.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Officers would first be concerned for their own welfare and esteem. Anxiety would be aroused over will of their men to continue fighting. Honorable surrender would permit them to save face.

Key Symbols

Safe refuge
Surrender
Save face

Task 29, 30, 31

77. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Show squad in dugout, reading American handbill that urges them to cease fighting and wait for opportunity to surrender or be captured. Show officer saying, "The end is near; let's surrender now to an honorable foe."

Caption: "The war is lost. Lay down your arms now!"

Key Symbols

American surrender handbill
Squad in dugout
Officer advocating honorable surrender

78. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

You are surrounded—resistance is useless—do not die for a lost cause. Your friends are already enjoying POW status.

Key Symbols

Surrounded
Lost cause
Friends among POW's

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reminder of poor communications could create panic. The idea of seeing their friends would appeal to gregarious nature of the Thai.

TASK 30: To get enemy soldiers to desert (i.e., take to the hills).

Enlisted Men

79. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Group of soldiers squatting in a semicircle and whispering together. All are bedraggled, hungry, and worn out. Some are bandaged. A leader is talking.

Caption: "Why do we fight? Let's run away before we are killed."

Key Symbols

Exhausted
Bedraggled
Sick
Fear of death
Desertion

TASK 31: To get individual soldiers to surrender.

Enlisted Men

*See *Appeal Idea No. 222*, developed for Task 56 for use with Professional Classes and judged appropriate also for Military-Enlisted Men for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Officers

80. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Don't fight for the Chinese. Come over to your real friends. We will return you home to a free Thailand.

Key Symbols

Fighting for the Chinese
American friends
Return home
Free Thailand

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The typical Thai dislikes the Chinese and likes the Americans. If promised return to a

Task 31, 32

Thailand free of foreign domination, they would be convinced of the merits of surrender.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 81*, developed for Task 32 for use with Noncommissioned Officers and judged appropriate also for Officers for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 32: To get groups or units of the opposing military forces to surrender.

Noncommissioned Officers

81. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Brave men of Thailand, you are fighting your friends. Remember our comradeship in Korea fighting our common enemies, the Communists. They are still our enemies. Join us and fight them.

Key Symbols

Brave men in Thailand
Thai-American comradeship in Korea
Communist enemy

Meaning of Key Symbols: Thai are very proud of their ancient tradition of prowess in war. NCO's are very proud of their service in Korea; the service ribbon is a real badge of honor. Most Thai dislike the Communists.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Pride in Korean service would be evoked and friendship toward Americans remembered. These two strong feelings coupled with dislike for Communist Chinese could well cause the NCO's to surrender.

Officers

82. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Men of Thailand, you are fighting to lead your country under Chinese slavery. Throw off the chains and join the fight to free Thailand. We welcome you as Allies in our fight for freedom.

Key Symbols

Fighting
Chinese slavery
Free Thailand
Allies

Meaning of Key Symbols: Fighting is distasteful to most Thai. Slavery suggests possible outside domination by the Chinese. The Thai have a strong desire to keep Thailand free. "Allies" symbolizes equal status.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Thai units should strongly resent the thought of fighting to maintain foreign domination of their country—particularly Chinese domination. They should be willing to take positive action to free their country, particularly if accepted as allies on a basis of equality.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 222*, developed for Task 56, for use with Professional Classes, and judged appropriate also for Officers for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Task 33

PROJECTED GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION

The special audience resides in a country whose government is allied with a major foe of the United States engaged in military operations against the United States and its allies.

GOAL: GOOD WILL TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

Task 33: To convince members of the group that a U.S. victory is morally and politically desirable (build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between them and the U.S.; create an appreciation of U.S. culture and way of life; etc.).

Administrators

83. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Uncle (*luy*) Sam has always helped the Thai to resist foreign encroachment—to remain free.

Key Symbols

luy
Free

Meaning of Key Symbols: *Luy* (Uncle) is an honorable title, often applied as a term of respect to older men, even those who are not members of the family. "Free" has a special meaning to the Thai (who have preserved their independence and are proud of that fact).

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Gratitude for past favors and respect for older friends. The history of Thailand's relations with the Western World (and the part played by the United States) is well-known to all literate Thai, and to many who are not literate.

Buddhist Monks

84. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Eventually there will be a renewal of that friendship between the United States and Thailand, which before the present conflict was known to be indissoluble, and so it will be in the end; it is a friendship that has not yet been destroyed.

Key Symbols

Phrases based on
Thai proverb:
*pluug majtrii jaa
ruu ruu*
"Keep friendship
without destroying
it."

Task 33

85. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Drawing of U.S. goods being delivered to Thailand, Laos, and other Southeast Asia countries.

Caption: "The United States is a peaceful nation. It has a long history of friendliness to the Far East, especially to Thailand. The aims of the United States are justice and improvement in standard of living of Far East peoples; priests should tell Thai people of this proved aim of the United States."

Key Symbols

Goods
Justice

Meaning of Key Symbols: Memory of past services and friendly gestures. Respect for Buddhist principle and for the Buddhist order (*sāṅkhā*).

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This would evoke friendly reactions to the United States. Appreciation of U.S. aid and sense of American devotion to the principle of justice are the essential elements here.

Comment: Specific references to Laos (or other nations) might well be avoided. The Thai would respond only to aid and friendship to themselves.

86. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

The relationship between the United States and Thailand, while bitter at present, will, like the sugarcane, become sweet toward the end.

Key Symbols

Phrases based on Thai proverb:
âj tōn wān plaaj cyyd
"The lower part of sugarcane is sweeter than the top part."

Central Thai

87. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Foreground showing delegations in support of some measure; background, indication of Soviet veto.

Caption: "Thai and Americans work together in the United Nations."

Key Symbols

Thai and Americans
work together

Task 33

Mass-Media Personnel

88. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2) *Key Symbols*
Two lands of the free—Thailand and the United States. The United States has never let you down; it will not now. "Lands of the free"
- Meaning of Key Symbol: "Thailand" means "land of the free" in a play on words in the Thai language—and this meaning is known to all.
- Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would recall long tradition of friendship between the United States and Thailand and create or restore appreciation for common bonds between the two countries. The historical background of this friendship is usually known and appreciated.

Professional Classes

89. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1) *Key Symbols*
If the U.S. wins, Thailand will again be Land of the Thai, if the enemy wins, it will be a satellite. Thai
- Meaning of Key Symbol: The name for the ethnic group is identical in sound and spelling with the adjective "free," and thus represents a national pun.
- Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would intensify fear of subjection and evoke national pride in being the only country in the area which has consistently preserved national independence—which the United States has always accepted. The idea of being a satellite would never be acceptable to the Thai, who take pride in the fact that they have never been dominated by another country.

Task 33

Royalists

90. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

The same spirit protects the Thai and American nations throughout history.

B.E. 2319—King Taksin (*tàagsin*) expelled the last foreign army and Americans declared their independence of colonial rule.

B.E. 2325—King Rama I established the Bangkok State.

B.E. 2326—Free Americans established a new free state.

B.E. 2406—King Rama IV offered aid to American Government in its fight against slavery.

B.E. 2464—America led the World Powers in recognizing Thailand's national equality.

B.E. 2486-89—America helped the Thai to expel a foreign army.

Today as always, the same spirit guides America and the Thai people in seeking peace and freedom.

Key Symbols

Key symbol consists of the repeated pairing of America and Thailand in noble context—as progressing and helping each other in tandem, as it were, throughout their recent history.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Embodies in historical outline the belief and inclination of the Thai royalists. It is a fairly well-ingrained belief which could serve as a basis for action if such action were perceived to be practical in a particular situation.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The group would perceive America in a sympathetic light by associating it with Thai history. The idea might also appeal to the well-educated, conservative Thai's sense of parallelism in history, as well as to his inclination to seek instances where history has repeated itself before and may be expected to do so again.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 89*, developed for this task for use with Professional Classes and judged appropriate also for Royalists, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Task 33

91. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

"The Thai and Americans are fun-loving (sà-nùg) people."

Key Symbols

sà-nùg (fun, or fun-loving)

Meaning of Key Symbol: The word for fun (sà-nùg) is frequently heard among the Thai. It is used in many contexts, but it is always a value, and always implies a pleasant view of life—very important and can be considered permanent.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This statement is one of those most commonly made when Thai and American personality characteristics are compared. Since the Thai value their "fun" highly, this statement should be effective in creating a favorable attitude toward the United States.

92. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Portray King opening Assembly of Representatives.

Caption: "Constitutional government is worth fighting for."

Key Symbols

The King
King opening National Assembly

Meaning of Key Symbols: The King embodies and represents the political philosophy of the royalists. The National Assembly is acceptable only within the framework of a monarchy. Constitutional government was granted by the King in 1932.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Royalists would favor a situation conducive to genuine constitutional government under the King.

Comment: *Situational Effect*—If the "constitutional" government in control of Thailand at the time was perceived by the royalists as inimical to their interests, the appeal idea would require appropriate modification.

University Students and Faculties

93. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Hundreds of Thai students and teachers have had the advantages of a free education in America; it is to be hoped that hundreds more will have the opportunity to come in the future.

Key Symbols

Concept of travel and education abroad (prestige)

Task 33

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Thai students and teachers have long wished to come to the United States, not only because of the superior educational facilities, but also because an American education carries high prestige. Whatever the specific experiences of a Thai student in the United States may have been (and they have not always been pleasant), the "coming to America" has been regarded as a "good" in and of itself.

Comment: The suggestion has been made that the word "free" (modifying "education") be deleted.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 89*, developed for this task for use with Professional Classes and judged appropriate also for University Students and Faculties, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Western-Educated Elite

94. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: A Thai student receiving a diploma at a Western school.

Caption: "You had the opportunity to seek the best in education, your children should have the same opportunity."

Key Symbols

Western graduation exercise

Meaning of Key Symbol: An experience, with pleasant connotations, common to most of this group.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should remind the group of the most favorable aspects of their experiences in the West. A Western education brings prestige; and regardless of their own experience in the West, members of the Western-educated elite would wish that their children could obtain the same advantages that they themselves had enjoyed.

Thailand as a Whole

95. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: An American giving rice to a starving Thai child.

Key Symbols

The United States as a giver of food

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would be a reminder of American kindness.

Task 34, 35

TASK 34: To create the belief among members of the group that United States troops are liberators.

Thailand as a Whole

96. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2) *Key Symbols*
We Share Our Victory With You. | Share

Meaning of Key Symbol: To create a connection between the "sharing" of victory and the normal cooperative "sharing" that is customary. To present the relationship between victors and the defeated in terms familiar to the Thai and acceptable to them.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The "sharing" of victory will play on the human trait of wanting to be on the winning side. No Thai wants to be a loser, and the frequent shifts in Thai politics are maneuvers designed to place Thailand on the winning side, rewarded or not.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 92*, developed for Task 33 for use with Royalists and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

GOAL: COMPLIANCE AND COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES

TASK 35: To get members of the group to keep away from military installations, bridges, railroads, and other military objectives.

Administrators

97. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1) *Key Symbols*
Picture of people running in terror from a railway station on which bombs are falling, contrasted with a second picture showing a family living in country house, wife preparing food, husband sitting watching children playing *tàkrò* game. | Contrast between danger and peaceful life in country
Caption: "Remain far away from military objectives for your family's sake." | *tàkrò* (game)

Task 35

Meaning of Key Symbols: The desire of all human beings to safeguard themselves and their families from danger. Thai who can afford it love to have a retreat in the country, usually referred to as a "garden"—a simple house surrounded by flowers and fruit trees. *Tàkrò* is a game of skill played at some time by every Thai male; it can hardly be played at all if one is worried.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would intensify the traditional Thai desire to reside in the countryside. During World War II, those who stayed in town sometimes suffered deprivation or felt the effects of military action, while those in the country came through unscathed—a fact which is well remembered. Members of this group are more likely to have a country retreat than those of lower economic status.

98. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Roads, railroads, and bridges are dangerous, mined, about to be bombed, or destroyed in some other way—stay away!

Stay away!

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Compliance out of fear of injury.

99. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: A U.S. bomber.
Caption: "In time of war all Thai keep away from bridges, railroads, electric power stations, and military installations."

Concept of self-preservation

Armed Forces (Political)

100. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Bridges and railyards are mined and booby trapped. Stay away!

Mines and booby traps

(U.S. forces must be actually capable of mining or booby trapping a sufficient number of installations to make the threat effective, and not just empty propaganda.)

Meaning of Key Symbol: Symbols of injury or violent death are particularly meaningful to the Thai, who do not value reckless courage highly.

Task 35

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Thai would be grateful for the warning and, because of it, would give the United States credit for being humane. They would avoid the places indicated.

Comment: On the other hand, it has been suggested that there is a tendency among the Thai people to exhibit little sense of danger or regard for personal safety, which might lessen the effect of this appeal idea.

Buddhist Monks

101. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Figure of Buddha with left hand raised, walking posture of *sukkhōthaj*, calming his fighting relatives and neighbors.

Caption: "Warn people of dangers around military installations, bridges, etc. Recommend going to *wats* away from danger zones."

Key Symbols

phrá phūthāráub
sāmāj sukkhōthaj
(Buddha image of the
sukkhōthaj period)

Meaning of Key Symbol: This is one of the most revered images of the Buddha. Raised left hand is symbol of peaceful teaching.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would intensify desire for peace, which is a primary ideal of Buddhism.

102. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

In troubled times monks should remain in their monasteries.

Key Symbols

Troubled times

Meaning of Key Symbol: "Troubled times" (or any similar term) would suggest all the things a monk is supposed to avoid.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Monks are already subject to "confinement" to their monasteries at certain times (e.g., during the Buddhist "Lent"). They are also accustomed to regulations forbidding involvement in worldly matters. It should be easy to remind them that their primary function is quiet study in their monasteries.

Comment: The appeal idea might be more forceful if more cogent or specific reasons for remaining in the monasteries could be given. A monk might resent being told simply to stay in his monastery (which can be tedious).

Task 35

103. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Where there is danger, keep off.
Hurry away from that place.

Key Symbols

Thai proverb:

"*thi mii phaj phay
liig plig ton paj
dooj duan*"

"Be away where
danger exists, get
yourself out of it
urgently."

Central Thai

104. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Train approaching a
trestle with bomb simultaneously
dropping from above.

Caption: "Stay Away From Military
Installations and Strategic Points—
Dangerous"

Key Symbols

Dangerous

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Avoidance of places named
as strategic.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 98*, developed for this task for use with
Administrators and judged appropriate also for Central Thai,
with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Chinese

*See *Appeal Idea No. 115*, developed for Task 36 for use with
Chinese and judged appropriate also for Chinese for this task,
with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

105. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

All people found near military instal-
lations will be separated from their
families and impressed into Commu-
nist work gangs.

Key Symbols

Idea of forced service

Meaning of Key Symbol: Reminiscent of ancient *corvée*.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would cause the Chinese to
fear separation from home and family and create dread of
possible impressment into work gangs.

Comment: The appeal would be especially good if it could be
put forward by local Chinese leaders. *Situational Effects*—
The appeal might have the effect of frightening some of those
who might wish, under appropriate circumstances, to cooperate
with the United States by sabotaging military installations.
The appeal idea would have only a short-term effect unless the
Communist forces were actually to impress people found near

Task 35

the installations (otherwise it would soon be marked as "just propaganda").

*See *Appeal Idea No. 98*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Chinese, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Mass-Media Personnel

*See *Appeal Idea No. 100*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Mass-Media Personnel, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Professional Classes

106. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Mánooraa, the bird maiden, flying away from the King of Phanchálaa, her father-in-law, who plans to offer her as a sacrifice on the advice of his wicked counsellor.

Caption: "Mánooraa avoided danger, so should you. Stay away from _____ (bridges, railroads, etc.)."

Key Symbols

Conceptual reference to Thai classical literature
Mánooraa, the bird maiden
King of Phanchálaa

Meaning of Key Symbols: Flight in the face of danger. This symbol should be familiar to most members of this group, since virtually all are acquainted with Thai drama. The concept, rooted deep in Thai practice and literature, should be accepted as valid.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The traditional Thai inclination to avoid danger and destruction would be justified to the group by drawing on the traditional literature for the appeal. The action called for would have the sanction of one's forebears and thus should be permissible.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 97*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Professional Classes, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 100*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Professional Classes, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Royalists

*See *Appeal Idea No. 100*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged to be appropriate also for Royalists, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 35

107. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Safeguarding one's welfare (*sāwāddī rāgsāa*) depends on keeping away from military objectives.

Key Symbols

sāwāddī rāgsāa

Meaning of Key Symbol: *sāwāddī rāgsāa* (Safeguarding One's Welfare) is the title of a fairly short didactic poem by *sūnthānphāu* (1786-1855); its contents are known to every Thai.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Should remind the Thai of their prescribed duty to themselves, which in this case can be equated with the behavior called for.

Comment: It has been suggested that the term *sāwāddī rāgsāa* is not used in everyday speech and might not be any more effective than a free translation of the appeal idea.

University Students and Faculties

108. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

You who can read this notice—please warn our Thai friends that military installations are not safe.

Key Symbols

"You who can read"

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The "reader" should be flattered that he was especially chosen to deliver the message, and also by the recognition that he is a "reader."

109. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Leaders of the society must preserve themselves for future rebuilding of country.

Key Symbols

Leaders of society

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Members of this group would feel justified in looking on themselves as leaders (respected by less educated people) who have a mission to perform, and therefore must preserve themselves as an elite.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 98*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for University Students and Faculties, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Western-Educated Elite

110. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Railroad bridge or other installation, with black panther, teeth bared, hiding underneath.
Caption: "Look out! Danger."

Key Symbols

Panther's head, snarling

Meaning of Key Symbol: Symbol of danger to the Thai.

Task 35

Comment: It is suggested that this appeal idea might be useful with reference to all groups in Thailand. *Situational Effect—* This appeal will not be useful over a long period unless the United States is capable of damaging at least some of these installations.

111. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

A special warning to our friends in Thailand: Please stay away from bridges, railroads, military installations, and other military facilities. They are useful to Red China and so we must regard them as military targets.

(Text of appeal written in English)

Key Symbols

Use of English text

Meaning of Key Symbol: Use of English would make the appeal seem more authentic. It would also flatter the Western-educated elite, the great majority of whom read English and consider it a prestige language.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The content of the appeal would play on the natural fear of injury, and the use of English would make the group feel that it was being singled out for a special favor.

Comment: It is suggested that this appeal idea might also be effective in persuading those who live near such installations to move away.

112. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Thai warning signal—15 slender strips of split bamboo, loosely plaited in diagonal pattern and mounted on a stake—plus sketch of military installations in background.

Caption: "Keep Out" or "Keep Off."

Key Symbols

Plaited-bamboo
warning signal

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Thai use the device described to invoke fertility. It is placed along the boundaries of rice fields; thus it marks off property lines and, by implication, can mean "no trespassing."

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The warning signal employed in the appeal idea is common throughout rural Thailand; its use should lend cultural validity to the behavior called for.

Task 35, 36

Comment: Situational Effect—This appeal idea should only be used in a message context that makes clear which military objectives are to be avoided (and to whose advantage). It is possible that avoidance of some installations might be to the advantage of the enemy. It is also suggested that this appeal idea might be useful with regard to all groups in Thailand.

Thailand as a Whole

113. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Bridge, railroad, or other military objective being destroyed by bombs, etc.

Caption: "It is very dangerous to be far from home."

Key Symbols

Dangerous to be far from home

114. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Do not walk in thorny places without shoes.

Key Symbols

Paraphrase of Thai proverb:

tè khwàag nǎam

jàa sia kyag

"Don't spoil your shoes where it is full of spikes and thorns."

TASK 36: To get members of the group to evacuate strategically important towns or cities.

Chinese

115. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

(Name of town) is a military target. Evacuate!

Key Symbols

Concept of self-preservation

Comment: Inclusion of a time factor might be appropriate in some circumstances and would increase the effectiveness of this appeal idea. **Situational Effect**—The appeal would lose future effectiveness unless it were followed immediately by the action implied.

Task 37

GOAL: DISCOURAGEMENT, DEFEATISM, APATHY

TASK 37: To instill among members of the group an expectation of a United States victory.

Buddhist Monks

116. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)
Illustration with one panel showing a destroyed Chinese harbor or an air field, another showing a powerful U.S. military air squadron.
Caption: "Slowly the United States is destroying the military power of China. There are growing signs of U.S. victory. Priests can point this out to the Thai people and they can remind the country of past friendliness of the United States."

Key Symbols
Instruments of war destroyed

Meaning of Key Symbol: Destroyed instruments of war would be in the tradition of the peaceful teachings of Buddhism.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: War weariness can be spread among the population by the monks. Buddhist respect for life is a primary doctrine, and aggressive war (identified with the enemy) is contrary to this attitude.

Comment: It has been suggested that each picture carry a caption that identifies a target already hit badly. Without such identification the appeal might not carry so much weight.

Professional Classes

117. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)
After initial defeats, America was victorious in World War II. America will again triumph in the present conflict.
(Assumes that United States is suffering initial setbacks after outbreak of hostilities comparable to Pearl Harbor and loss of Philippines.)

Key Symbols
Analogy from history

Meaning of Key Symbol: Intellectual approach better in this context than an emotional symbol. The group would want to decide, on some sort of rational basis, which side will win, and then act accordingly.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The group would be increasingly persuaded that initial setbacks do not necessarily indicate eventual defeat, and would thus come to expect U.S. victory.

Task 37

Royalists

118. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

B.E. 2484—Thai people forced into war on the side of America's enemy.

B.E. 2488—America returned to conquer the enemy and help the Thai.

Now—Again the Thai are trapped in war by the enemy of America.

One day—The wheel will turn full circle again.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would evoke pride that the members of the group were not responsible for Thailand's alliance with Japan in 1941; hostility toward the government which repeats the error of 1941; assurance that the existing situation is not irreversible; and confidence that the wheel of life will again bring the Americans to victory as before.

Key Symbols

America returned to conquer

The wheel will turn full circle again

119. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Crude Chinese industry in comparison with a sketch of American assembly-line industry.

Caption: "Modern war is waged and won by industry."

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Familiar with their own country's industrial potential and that of the Chinese, the group would give credence to the idea that American modern industry is superior to that of America's enemies.

Key Symbols

American modern industry

Western-Educated Elite

120. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration of mythical God of Lightning casting thunderbolt from sky. (Refer to Thai classics for correct representation of arrow suggesting lightning.) On the ground show arrogant warlord on horseback as target of thunderbolt.

Caption: "Unconquerable Skyfire" or "Skyfire conquers all."

Meaning of Key Symbol: Here the thunderbolt symbol represents American air power.

Key Symbols

Thunderbolt (stylized arrow classically employed in Thai artistry and theatricals)

Task 37, 38

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would indicate the invincible nature of American power and equate it with mythology.

Comment: It is assumed that the thunderbolt is "good"—suggest authorities on Thai legends and theatricals be consulted before use in particular situation. Also, despite the sophistication of this group, it might be necessary to identify by clearly recognizable characteristics or labels both the "skyfire" (righteous American might) and the warlord (Chinese militarism).

Thailand as a Whole

*See *Appeal Idea No. 119*, developed for this task for use with Royalists and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Task 38: To arouse and intensify among members of the group a desire for peace.

Administrators

121. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

War brings destruction of your homes, gardens, and farms: Peace will come with an American victory!

Key Symbols

Homes, gardens, and farms

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Thai love the "Arcadian" rural landscape of their country, with the backdrop of carts, buffaloes, village temples among palm trees, the farflung fields, etc. Even urban Thai are not far removed from a country background—and the words for "home" and "village" are identical.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would intensify resentment of a war which brings destruction to the life and landscape which they hold dear.

122. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Picture of burning villages and towns, blackened ricefields, etc., contrasted with picture of flourishing life of peacetime—carts traveling roads, peasants harvesting the rice, children riding on the backs of buffaloes, etc.

Key Symbols

Contrast between destruction pictured and peacetime rural idyll.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The love of rural life is strong among the Thai, even those who are residents of urban areas.

Task 38

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Nostalgia. Outside of Bangkok, all life is in close contact with the land, and administrators outside the capital would live surrounded by rural people.

Comment: *Situational Effect:* If the United States were perceived as responsible for the destruction depicted, this appeal idea would conflict with efforts to achieve a desired response for Task 33.

123. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: showing full bowl of rice and well-fed child.

Caption: "Peace."

(Assumes shortages of consumption items.)

Key Symbols

Well-fed child

Full rice bowl

"Peace"

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would combine the sentimental ideal of contented child with the concept of peace.

Buddhist Monks

124. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Peaceful posture of Buddha.

Caption: "Priests are committed to peace and friendliness. There is nothing the Americans want more."

Key Symbols

Drawing of the Buddha in the traditional posture of peace.

Meaning of Key Symbol: First and foremost, Buddha is the great teacher of peace and nonviolence. Whatever can emphasize this tradition would influence the attitudes of the monks and then of the Thai people.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: A favorable emotional reaction would be evoked by the indication of the basic peaceful aims of the United States.

Comment: It has been suggested that use of the term "dedicated" in lieu to "committed" would make the appeal idea more effective.

125. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Buddhists love peace.

Key Symbols

| Peace

Meaning of Key Symbol: With rare exceptions (e.g., monks occasionally bless war equipment), Buddhists constantly and sincerely advocate peace. The term "peace" then is not simply the absence of war, but a positive value.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would serve to reinforce a strong and traditional value.

Task 38

126. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Walking Buddha.

Caption: "Let the Buddha walk the earth again."

Key Symbols

The Walking Buddha

Meaning of Key Symbol: Wherever the Buddha went, he spread peace and conciliation, allaying fear and hatred. This is the idea conveyed by the walking Buddha.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would strengthen the desire to live up to the Buddhist ideals.

Comment: It should be made clear that the reference is figurative, not literal—that what is involved is the Buddhist precept of peace. Gautama (*kātama*), the Buddha himself, has attained Nirvana (*nibphaan*) and is not expected back on earth again.

127. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: The Buddha.

Caption: "The Buddha taught peace."

Key Symbols

Representation of the Buddha.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Pictures or images of the Buddha serve to remind Buddhists of the teachings of the Master (images are not worshipped). Buddha images are in every temple and most homes, and constitute the most familiar and most effective of all symbols of Thai Buddhism.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would motivate monks to act and feel as did the Buddha. "To abstain from taking of life" is one of the truths of the Noble Eightfold path—a cornerstone of Buddhism known to all monks.

Central Thai

*See Appeal Idea No. 127, developed for this task for use with Buddhist Monks and judged appropriate also for Central Thai, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

128. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration with two panels: In one Buddhists are praying and in the other a married couple are giving alms.

Caption: "Praying, giving alms."

Key Symbols

Prayer and alms-giving

Meaning of Key Symbol: This is the Thai concept of peaceful living. The average Thai, although not quite "happy-go-lucky," desires a peaceful, routine life. This is tied very closely to religious activities.

Task 38

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would motivate the Thai people to seek a peaceful life wherein the activities portrayed could continue.

129. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A Thai "earning merit" by releasing a caged bird.

Caption: "Thai are peace-loving people."

Key Symbols

Release of caged bird:

Meaning of Key Symbol: Symbolizes preservation of life. This is one of a number of popular methods of "earning merit" among the Buddhist Thai. It is as important and permanent as Buddhism to the Thai.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind the Thai of their Buddhist values, ideals, and practices—specifically, of the important Buddhist precept against taking life or harming any sentient being.

Comment: The symbolism of this scene is well known to the Thai, but in any actual message one should not attempt to be too literal. The bird to be released is sold for that purpose in a regular market and upon "release" returns to the man who sold it for another such cycle. Fish are similarly bought and released in temple pools; these, at least, cannot return to the seller.

Professional Classes

130. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Peace will bring a return to everyday comfortable living (*jùu jèn pen sùg*).

Key Symbols

jùu jèn pen sùg

Meaning of Key Symbol: *jùu jèn pen sùg* is a common idiom meaning "to enjoy the peacefulness of life." The literal translation is "live cool, be happy," and *sùg* (happy) combines the meanings of physical joy and mental happiness. (The idiom is difficult to translate: *jùu* means "to live, to be"—as in the Spanish *estar*; while *pen* means "to exist, to be"—as in the Spanish *ser*. A possible translation might be: "Reside in a cool place, live a happy life.")

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would intensify desire for peace for the sake of *jùu jèn pen sùg*.

Task 38

131. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

There is rice in the field and fish in the water, but only in peacetime.

Key Symbols

"There is rice in the field and fish in the water."

Meaning of Key Symbol: This is an old Siamese saying. It signifies that the Thai's country is a land of plenty where anyone who is willing to work can make a comfortable living. **Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea:** It would help to create a desire for the quietness and freedom to develop the natural resources of the land. The land is good, and provides the necessities of life—why worry about more?

Comment: It has been suggested that "is there enough for us all" be added after "peacetime" in the interest of accuracy and clarity.

132. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Buddha

Caption: "The First Command of Uprightness—Do Not Kill."

Key Symbols

The Buddha

Meaning of Key Symbol: The pictorialization of the Buddha recalls his peaceful philosophy, even to those who may not be devout, practicing adherents.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke the general feeling that an absence of killing is the approved and proper order of things. It would almost certainly bring to mind the natural desire of the people for peace, and emphasize religious approval of peaceful conditions.

Comment: This appeal idea should be used with caution lest it appear to equate the United States with its enemies as "killers." Also, it should be noted that there is a possible conflict between obtaining a desired response for this task with this appeal and potential adverse effect with regard to Tasks 55 and 56.

*See *Appeal Idea* No. 134, developed for this task for use with University Students and Faculties and judged appropriate also for Professional Classes, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Task 38

Royalists

133. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Depict King and Queen strolling without guards at the annual Bangkok fair, viewing the exhibits, talking informally with the commoners.

Caption: "When Peace Comes"

Key Symbols

The King and Queen
unguarded among
their subjects

Meaning of Key Symbol: An indication that no dangers threaten Their Majesties.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Royalists would favor such a condition and realize that peace would be conducive to it.

Comment: This appeal idea should be used with caution and only if conditions exist in which the King does not circulate among commoners. Otherwise, the Thai will merely perceive this scene as a portrayal of royal behavior and not of the pleasures and security of peacetime. In such a context the absence of guards lacks significance. In ordinary circumstances the absence of guards would detract from the royal status (there is nothing inconsistent in a ceremonially guarded King moving freely among commoners in Thailand). It should also be noted that the point of this appeal idea does not involve the depiction of the "fair" per se, nor the fairing gestalt; the idea merely typifies royal behavior which might be restricted by conditions of war. It also has been suggested, however, that the terms "constitution fair" would be more accurate than "Bangkok Fair."

*See *Appeal Idea No. 122*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Royalists, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

University Students and Faculties

134. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: A standard statue of the Buddha, large-scale, with small-scale tank, bombs, guns, scenes of fighting or destruction in foreground, and below.

Caption: "Buddha seeks peace."

Key Symbols

The Buddha

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Buddha image represents peace and good will in human relations.

Task 33

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: If carefully done (so that it does not appear that the Buddha is under attack from the instruments of war), the contrast between a scene of destruction and the advocacy of peace and good will would incline even non-Buddhist members of this group toward peace.

Comment: The use of the symbols of Buddhism in juxtaposition with symbols of war and destruction should be used with extreme caution, if at all. If conditions are favorable for use of this idea, "wants" might be used instead of "seeks" in the caption.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 122*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for University Students and Faculties, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

135. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

(Leaflet): War may mean the closing of the universities and conscription of university students. In that case you might find yourselves fighting for something in which you do not believe; you would not be able to continue your education and the money your parents have sacrificed for your education would be lost.

Key Symbols

Desire for education
Family loyalty
Desire to avoid conscription

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Self-interest and traditional ideals would combine to reinforce a desire for peace.

Thailand as a Whole

136. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Chief Priest giving novice yellow robe of full priesthood. Family offering food to, and receiving blessing from, son-priest.

Caption: "Yellow robe brings merit to family—completeness to son.

Military uniform deprives family of merit and the son of complete manhood."

(Most effective if occupation powers have restricted right of worship, or have drafted men before they have had a chance to serve in the priesthood.)

Key Symbols

Hands offering, hands accepting robe
Hands offering, hands accepting food

Task 38, 39

Meaning of Key Symbols: Receiving of robe by novice, and offering of food by family, are highest forms of "merit-making" for the average family in Thailand.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind the family, and especially the mother (who is charged with the spiritual well-being of her growing son), that they (she) had not fulfilled their (her) sacred duties, and cannot do so until peace returns and the occupation forces are expelled.

Particular Caution: This appeal idea should not be used unless the enemy has actually interfered with Buddhist religious practices. In any case it should be used cautiously, to avoid adverse implications for American soldiers (also in military uniform). The difference which should be made clear is that the U.S. objective is peace, which would afford the opportunity to become a monk and gain merit for one's family.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 133*, developed for this task for use with Royalists and judged to be appropriate also for Thailand as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

TASK 39: To create doubt and confusion among members of the group concerning the ideology and war aims of their government.

University Students and Faculties

137. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration of separate labelled maps of such areas as Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria.

Caption: "To which of your false ally's lands will you be sent?"

Key Symbols

Concept of exile to satellite

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should raise questions about the assumed alliance between Thailand and an enemy of the United States—stimulate fear that the alliance would mean sending members of the group to forbidding places. A secondary reaction might be the realization that the places indicated on the maps are under the sovereignty of a "foreign" power—a fate which might befall Thailand.

Task 40

TASK 40: To arouse and intensify among members of the group disrespect for and lack of confidence in the top national leaders.

Administrators

138. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Drawing of administrator, confused and distressed, pile of papers on desk, work not done, while national leader is hob-nobbing with an important Chinese.

Key Symbols

Pile of papers on desk
Intimate conversation between national leader and important Chinese

Meaning of Key Symbols: Pile of papers reflects lack of incentive. Thai leader with Chinese leader suggests that the war is conducted for the interests of the national leaders and not for the good of the people.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to make work slow down in offices, as motivation would wane.

139. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: King in shadow of a gun.

Caption: "Government leaders plan to do away with the King."

Key Symbols

King with Royal paraphernalia; e.g., nine-tiered umbrella, *monkud* (crown), etc.
Gun

Meaning of Key Symbols: The first represents the very essence of traditional royalty. The gun symbolizes a threat to the King, it would remind people of the death, in 1946, of King Ananda, popularly believed to have been murdered with a gun.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The person of the King and the institution of the Monarchy are highly valued by the Thai. Although most administrators know the King has little political power, they are aware of the political continuity the King gives the country and of his popularity among the people. Rumors that government leaders threaten the Monarchy are political dynamite in Thailand. They were an important element in the erosion of support for the political leadership of Pridi Phanomyong (*pridi phanomjong*).

Task 40

140. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Figures labelled as national leaders but with leering Chinese faces.

Caption: "The real enemy."

Meaning of Key Symbol: Conveys the idea that the leaders are more Chinese than Thai at heart.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would create or intensify resentment toward those leaders identified with foreign interests.

Key Symbols

Chinese faces

141. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A typical Thai bus racing at full speed toward a one-way bridge plainly marked *sàphaan khêeb* (narrow bridge) and obviously going to crash into one of the guard walls. Driver should have recognizable features of a top national leader.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Virtually every bridge in Thailand is one-way and plainly ~~marked~~ *sàphaan khêeb*; yet almost daily the papers report serious accidents caused by speed-happy drivers missing the central line and colliding with the side of the bridge (usually masonry).

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The recklessness and implied consequences would be understood by most Thai. Such would cause mistrust and lack of respect for the leaders identified.

Comment: As a variation a local high-wheeled cart might be used instead of a bus; and instead of crashing, the vehicle might plunge into the river labelled "collaboration."

Key Symbols

sàphaan khêeb
(narrow bridge)

Central Thai

*See *Appeal Idea No. 141*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Central Thai, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

142. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: National leader (with recognizable face), blindfolded, leading a blind man to the brink of a precipice or toward the center of a bombed-out bridge.

Key Symbols

Precipice

Task 40

Comment: The appeal would have maximum effectiveness if used in the context of Communist setbacks—that is, if the reception of the appeal is guaranteed by fear of disaster or distrust of leadership already existing in some degree. It is also suggested that it might be well to associate the Chinese with the leadership in question. It is further suggested that the message or caption used with this appeal idea clearly indicate that not all Thai are “blind” (i.e., stupid), but only those who “blindly” follow bad leadership.

Chinese

*See *Appeal Idea No. 141*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Chinese, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 142*, developed for this task for use with Central Thai and judged appropriate also for Chinese, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Comment: For this group the “blind” person being led must be clearly identifiable as Chinese.

Mass-Media Personnel

*See *Appeal Idea No. 141*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Mass-Media Personnel, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 142*, developed for this task for use with Central Thai and judged appropriate also for Mass-Media Personnel, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Professional Classes

*See *Appeal Idea No. 139*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Professional Classes, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

143. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustrations: Identifiable leader(s) plainly marked or branded with the *chaleu*. (For-sale symbol.)

Key Symbols

Chaleu: Two equilateral triangles of thin bamboo strips, so interwoven as to form a six-pointed star, with open spaces between the slats

Task 40

Meaning of Key Symbol: An ancient symbol, originally a charm, but now most frequently used in Bangkok as an advertisement signifying "For Sale." In the past, women guilty of adultery were paraded through the streets with the face covered by a *chaleu*.

Special Note. This symbol has other meanings in other contexts. See *Appeal Idea No. 112* for an example of variant usage.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: In its meaning of "For Sale," the *chaleu* would be understood by the urban Thai. In the pictorial concept is the implication that the leader(s) has (have) been unfaithful and has (have) "sold out" to the country's natural enemies.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 142*, developed for this task for use with Central Thai and judged appropriate also for Professional Classes, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Royalists

144. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Depict high-ranking Thai official in army uniform accepting graft from the enemy to expedite troop movements (indicated by obviously foreign troops ready to march in toward foreground of sketch).

Caption: "A war-millionaire in the making."

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The royalists would despise such a national leader.

Comment: It has been suggested that the Thai word for "rich person" should be used rather than the American term "war millionaire," and also, that the appeal idea should be used for this group with caution and discretion, since many of the royalists would be high-ranking officers, and nearly all of the Thai officialdom engages to some degree in some form of what Westerners would term "graft."

Key Symbols

Graft at expense of Thai nation

145. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

King Chulalongkorn protected Thai freedom against many Big Powers. Today, little men have shamefully pawned Thai freedom to an alien Power.

Key Symbols

Chulalongkorn
"Little men—
pawned"

Task 40

Meaning of Key Symbols: To royalists King Chulalongkorn is a symbol of a golden age (beside whom most modern politicians pale). The second symbol denotes smallness in moral character as well as stature.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal is intended to remind the royalists that for more than 150 years the Chakri House had kept Thailand independent whereas (under the assumption) the country has been drawn into war as a pawn of a foreign power. This would indicate the inferiority of the government leaders and would invoke the name of the most popular and famous Thai King against them.

Comment: This appeal idea, though it should prove effective, should not be used naively. The members of the royalist group are educated, sophisticated people who would be likely to know that Chulalongkorn was extremely lucky in being able to play off France and England against each other to preserve most of Thailand from either. The symbolism involved would be effective, but should not be put forward as literal history.

University Students and Faculties

*See *Appeal Idea No. 143*, developed for this task for use with Central Thai and judged appropriate also for University Students, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 144*, developed for this task for use with Royalists and judged appropriate also for University Students and Faculties, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Thailand as a Whole

146. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Enemy soldier (or farmer) leading water buffalo (Thai puppet government) with Thai public walking behind, holding tail of buffalo.

Caption: *khon nam khwaaj khwaaj nam khon.* (Should man lead buffalo or does buffalo lead man?)

(Assumes existence of puppet government, or a government consisting of some Thai collaborationists.)

Meaning of Key Symbol: Progression of identified enemy-government-people in undignified portrayal.

Key Symbols

khon nam khwaaj
khwaaj nam khon
(Should man lead
buffalo or does
buffalo lead man?)

Task 40, 41

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would arouse disrespect for puppet leaders who can do little more than follow submissively, leading behind them the Thai people, who thus suffer from being in third place and following the not-so-proud "leaders."

147. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Haughty *lúug phîi* and servile, groveling *lúug cǎag*, or Big Brother-Very Little Brother relationship applied to occupation-puppet government. *Lúug cǎag* is prostrated at feet of *lúug phîi* using address form reserved only for the King of Thailand.

(Assumes existence of puppet government, or a government consisting of some Thai collaborationists.)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would arouse disrespect for leaders who, by their subservient position, place Thailand in an ignoble relationship to Chinese masters (who, though feared, have for centuries been looked down upon by the Thai).

*See *Appeal Idea No. 144*, developed for this task for use with Royalists and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 41: To arouse and intensify among members of the group disrespect for and lack of confidence in the top group leaders.

Administrators

148. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Picture of row of persons, one behind the other, all in the position of *kràab wǎaj* (the position of extreme humility before a superior) before a representation of the major foe of the United States (or the flag of the enemy). (The persons pictured are progressively smaller.)

Caption: "*khǎa ráib kràphǎm*" (an expression of consent or affirmation used by inferiors to persons of great rank and power).

Key Symbols

Haughty look of *lúug phîi* (big brother), servile, groveling look of *lúug cǎag* (little brother)

Key Symbols

kràab wǎaj

Task 41, 42

Meaning of Key Symbol: The *krāab wāaj* was formerly used by slaves before their masters (and, by extension, by subjects before royalty). The custom has been abandoned even by royalty, but indicates truly extreme obeisance.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Administrators are pleased by the abandonment of this humiliating custom of prostration—in the past, advancement was impossible unless this act was performed constantly before superiors. Depicting it as a symbol of the relationship with foreigners (enemy of the United States) would create resentment toward the leaders responsible for that relationship.

Comment: It is suggested that the Thai figures be identifiable as the leaders of the special audience—if not, the illustration might be taken as a representation of servility on the part of all Thai people and thus produce adverse effects.

TASK 42: To arouse among members of the group nostalgia (severe melancholia, morbid sentimentality) for the generally approved aspects of the past.

[Armed Forces (Political)

149. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Large group of Thai people sending floats (*krāthong*) with lighted candles down a stream while soldiers *ramwong* (modern Thai dance) on near-by platform.

(Assumes people would not be permitted to carry on traditional festivals.)

Key Symbols

krāthong (floats) going down river, soldiers dancing *ramwong*.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The traditional Thai festival of *Loj krāthong* is important not only as part of cultural heritage, but also as an excuse for merrymaking.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would evoke nostalgia for the past good times associated with this festival, and remind the audience that cultural values and practices have been delimited by association with Communist China (under the assumption).

Task 42

150. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Happy young Thai officer and his young wife sending *laoj krathon* boats down the river.

Caption: "Remember *laoj krathon* long ago, when all your troubles were small?"

Key Symbols

laoj krathon boats

Meaning of Key Symbol: The boats would suggest a happy holiday and also the idea of getting rid of troubles.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would arouse nostalgia by reference to one of the happiest of Thai holidays—when men and women get rid of their troubles by floating them down the river on small paper boats. It should also remind soldiers away from home of their separation from their families, and may also suggest that the old days were happier ones.

Buddhist Monks

151. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Photograph or drawing of Thai ceremonial dancing with the *wat* in background.

Caption: "Promote celebrations of folk festivals associated with harvest, New Year's, etc. In time of war these are forgotten or neglected."

Key Symbols

Thai dancers wearing Thai-Buddhist crown (*monkud*)

Meaning of Key Symbols: The traditional dances are very old and give a mellowness to the Thai culture which is greatly cherished by the people.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would stimulate the monks to make special efforts to arouse nostalgia and to appeal to the sentimental attitudes of the people—holding out peace and the enjoyment of the ancient satisfactions of Thai culture as an alternative to the war.

Comment: It has been suggested that "forgotten" be omitted from the caption and that something like "but we think of them in our hearts" be added. There is an appropriate Thai word for "think" (*khid thŷy*, which means to think of something or someone in a pining kind of way). It might also be well to refer directly to "temple festivals" in the caption.

152. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: *kāthīn* ceremony (giving gifts of robes to monks).

Caption: "In wartime the people cannot make merit (*tham bun*) as they used to do."

Key Symbols

kāthīn ceremony of giving robes to monks *tham bun* (merit-making).

Meaning of Key Symbols: Giving gift of robes to monks is a popular form of making merit in Thai Buddhism. Ceremonial robe-giving is a social as well as a religious function. Merit-making is an imperative in Thai Buddhism. It takes many forms, from building temples to giving rice daily to monks.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would create among monks a wish for a return to times when merit-making was on a larger, more generous scale—when people, through giving, accumulated merit for themselves and thereby provided the monks with more amenities. Note: the monks' desires (and their joy in receiving gifts of new robes) should never be directly referred to.

Thailand as a Whole

153. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

What does your family mean to you?
Would you give your family up?

Key Symbols

Family

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The immediate family in Thailand is an affectionate loyal group. A perception that such family ties are weakened or are being threatened would recall happier and easier days together.

TASK 43: To promote apathy among members of the group.

Armed Forces (Political)

154. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A Thai sitting cross-legged in meditation while Chinese soldiers in the background are engaged in furious warfare.

Key Symbols

Indifference (the Thai religious term meaning, "indifference, neutrality, calmness, lack of desire")

Caption: "The Lord Buddha taught indifference."

Comment: It should be noted that many modern Thai do not sit in the cross-legged position for meditation. The more common position for meditation and prayer now seems to be with both legs folded beneath the person, and with hands joined in an attitude of supplication.

Task 43

155. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

"Aren't you bored (*b̂ya*) with all these political studies and meetings?" (Assumes that the military would be expected to participate in Communist studies and indoctrination sessions, or at least in numerous meetings for instruction and planning purposes.)

Key Symbols

b̂ya—bored

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would intensify dissatisfaction with regimentation, the necessity for learning doctrine, attending indoctrination sessions, etc. The Thai do not take easily to regimentation; they display a great deal of individualism.

Buddhist Monks

156. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Priest in the posture of meditation.

Caption: "Encourage the meditation movement in Thailand. In the turmoil of war more priests need to engage in meditation, and the *wats* need to promote it. Monks who become so absorbed in the ephemera of war and forget meditation are undermining the ancient practices and consolations of Buddhism."

Key Symbols

Meditation posture of Buddhist monks

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Meditation is an important feature of Buddhism. This appeal is designed to encourage its practice. Meditation would emphasize peaceful attitudes and the contemplation of the evils which beset life and of ways of escape from violence and the exaggeration of physical action.

157. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: A monk in peaceful meditation inside the monastery, confusion and turmoil outside.

Caption: "Buddhist monks are not concerned in worldly matters."

Key Symbols

Buddhist monk, the world

Meaning of Key Symbols: These are key terms in Thai Buddhism.

Task 43

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would reinforce a basic teaching of Buddhism and thus is likely to achieve desired effect.

Comment: It has been suggested that monks, being human as well as religious, might be led to thoughts of their families and friends in such circumstances, and that a caption such as "Faithful Buddhist monks maintain their inner peace despite the turmoil of war" might achieve the desired response without asking for superhuman behavior.

158. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Buddha sitting in meditation on the coils and under the hood of *phrājaa nāg* while storms and floods rage all around.

Caption: "The Buddha kept calm."

Meaning of Key Symbol: The tranquility and lack of concern of the Buddha with what is around him—keeping calm in adversity.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would appeal to a basic Buddhist concept and lead to such passivity.

Key Symbols

Buddha meditating under the hood of a snake

159. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Ordination of priest into Thai Buddhist Order.

Caption: "Work out your own salvation with diligence."

Meaning of Key Symbol: Said to have been the Buddha's last words to his disciple monks.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Should remind the Buddhist monk that his primary duty is his religious duty to himself—that secular affairs should be of no importance to him.

Comment: It has been suggested that the appeal idea might be reinforced and clarified by a "flash-back" scene of the death of the Lord Buddha. It is also necessary to establish in the message the relevance of this appeal to the task.

Key Symbols

"Work out your own salvation with diligence"

Central Thai

160. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Political speaker making speech and nobody listening to him.

Caption: "Do not listen to the enemy's propaganda."

Key Symbols

Do not listen

Task 43, 44

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would encourage indifference to enemy propaganda.

Comment: It would be necessary to clearly identify the "speaker" as a Chinese and a Communist.

Thailand as a Whole

161. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

"Under the circumstances it is meritorious to sit motionless with folded arms."

Key Symbols

Concept of meritorious withdrawal

Comment: It has been suggested that the following might be added, "... and send forth good will thoughts to all creatures."

*See *Appeal Idea No. 155*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

GOAL: DISCORD

TASK 44: To arouse or intensify among members of the group resentment against profiteers or favored groups.

Buddhist Monks

162. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Chinese merchants suck the blood of honest, hard-working Thai Buddhists.

Key Symbols

cég—Chinese
(derogatory term)
"Suck the blood"

Meaning of Key Symbol: Use of the derogatory term for the Chinese establishes scorn for that group. The phrase "suck the blood" is used in Thai as in English.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Thai are generally prepared to believe this. The monks would not ordinarily like to feel hostility, but they do preach against greed and might be encouraged to use this example in their preaching on this subject.

Comment: It has been suggested that certain political leaders be shown as in league with the merchants to rob the public. It has also been suggested that "Buddhists" be dropped from the appeal idea—it adds another dimension which merely confuses the issue, especially since most Chinese are considered (rightly or wrongly) by the Thai to be Buddhists.

163. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Your country's leaders are spreading the open umbrella over themselves.

Key Symbols

kaan rôm—opening up an umbrella

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would tend to create resentment against favored groups and profiteers, since it implies that they are monopolizing privileges for themselves and preventing others from sharing in the advantages they enjoy.

Comment: It has been suggested that the leader or leaders in question be identified through caricature drawings.

Mass-Media Personnel

*See *Appeal Idea No. 165*, developed for this task for use with Professional Classes and judged appropriate also for Mass-Media Personnel, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

164. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Why should the war be fought only by the common people? The only persons benefiting, as usual, are the war millionaires.

Key Symbols

Common people
War millionaires

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would create resentment of persons who are making an excessive amount of money from war; and would develop and intensify feeling of class consciousness. (There would seem to be a predisposition toward this feeling.)

Professional Classes

165. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Thai looking at empty rice bowl with lush rice field in background.

Caption: "Where did it go?"

(Assumes that Communist allies would require large-scale rice deliveries from Thailand, and that corruption—an ever present feature of Thailand's governing groups—would still be present.)

Key Symbols

Empty rice bowl
Lush rice fields

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Hunger has never been known in modern Thailand; if such were to become common and it could be associated with graft, resentment would surely follow.

Comment: Actual hunger would have to exist to make this appeal of maximum effectiveness.

Task 44, 45

University Students and Faculties

166. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Sketch of recognizable university building with prominent sign "Mao-Tse-tung University"—in lower foreground, a broken sign "Chulalongkorn University."

Caption: "If only Chulalongkorn or Vajiravudh could see Thailand now!"

Key Symbols

Chulalongkorn
(*chulalongkorn*)
Vajiravudh
(*wachiravud*)

Meaning of Key Symbols: The first is the name of a heroic king and symbol of strong monarchy, now the name of a major Thai university. Vajiravudh was a popular monarch closely identified with the beginnings of anti-Chinese feelings among the Thai.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would create or intensify fear that Thai institutions would have to give way to Chinese; and would remind the group of Thai kings who were cultural or nationalistic leaders.

Comment: It has been suggested that the name of Mongkut (*mongkut*) (his father) be substituted for that of Vajiravudh. Though less anti-Chinese, Mongkut was more popular and is more respected.

167. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A rich banquet table with several very fat individuals eating. (These should be labeled, singly or collectively, with the name or names of the group or groups to be identified unfavorably.) Several starved-looking persons are around the edges—no food. Servants (labeled "Government") hover around the corpulent ones.

Caption: "End this unfair behavior."

Key Symbols

Contrast between
favored groups and
those discriminated
against

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would arouse the sense of fair play characteristic of this group (and of Thai in general), and would also create resentment if members of the group perceived themselves as among the starved-looking persons.

TASK 45: To promote dissension and conflict between cliques of a specified group or between the specified group and other groups in the country which have real or potential grievances against each other (excluding the government).

Professional Classes

168. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Student with very obviously Chinese features talks with non-Chinese student, but dragon is represented as manipulating first student as a puppet.

Caption: "Don't trust him—he is not really Thai."

Key Symbols

Dragon—not really Thai

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would encourage distrust of those of Chinese ancestry.

Special Caution: Should be used with care and discretion since many Thai have some Chinese blood or have Chinese friends.

Royalists

169. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

"Royalists are used when they are useful—tossed aside when they are not."

Key Symbols

Aristocratic pride

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal conforms to what has occurred in the politics of Thailand in the past; it should arouse royalist resentment against the ruling clique, no matter who that might be. The royalists feel strongly that no group in Thailand is more capable of ruling than they. The appeal should also create tension between those who seem to be favored and those who perceive themselves as having been "used."

Western-Educated Elite

170. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Prosperous-looking Chinese merchants with stores or stalls in background.

Caption: "Shopkeepers now—rulers tomorrow?"

Key Symbols

Chinese merchants

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would play on long-standing anti-Chinese sentiment among the members of this group—a sentiment based in large part on fear.

Comment: *Differential Effect*—Chinese and Sino-Thai of recent Chinese extraction would be offended by such an appeal.

TASK 46: To encourage disaffection on the part of members of the group because of grievances (ethnic, religious, social, political, economic, etc.) against the government.

Task 46

Administrators

171. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Portrayal of overworked administrator, indicated by stacks of paper on desk, distraught look and hall clock showing late hour.

Caption: "Overtime work is necessary because of the demands of your false allies—you get nothing for this!"

Key Symbols

Overwork for nothing

Royalists

172. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

You have been robbed of positions in government, in society, in wealth—what will government leaders take from you next?

Key Symbols

Robbed

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The royalists strongly resent their rapid decline in Thailand. Suggestions that they have been "robbed" would strike a responsive chord.

173. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

How long will Thai men with the best education allow Thailand to be ruled by men who know only how to use guns?

Key Symbols

Rule by gun

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would pinpoint a real grievance: the dominance of military factions in the Thai government has long been resented by Thai intellectuals.

University Students and Faculties

174. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Dragon, partially concealed behind figure of the King, which is being manipulated by the dragon as a hand puppet.

Key Symbols

King as puppet

Caption: "Free Thailand from the Communist dictatorship."

(Most effective if foe is actually present in Thailand with major military power—thus coercing Thai government.)

Task 46

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The person of the King evokes deep respect among all Thai; hence to picture him as a puppet of a foreign power would be reprehensible to the Thai, but the feeling of resentment should be transferred to the foreign tyrants.

175. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Thai people represented by a prone human figure which is being beaten, whipped, or lashed by a uniformed male labeled "The Government."

Caption: "Fight your Oppressor"

(If the grievances are not so severe, the figures might be represented as two male Thai boxers—more nearly equals.)

Key Symbols

Figure representing the government

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would intensify student dislike of oppression of any kind and would increase their suspicion of the government.

Western-Educated Elite

176. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Fat merchant labeled "The Government," with piles of gold and silver ornaments (belts, bracelets, chains).

Caption: "Getting more than their share."

Key Symbols

Gold ornaments

Meaning of Key Symbol: Gold as a medium of exchange in Thailand is converted into ornamental items of standard weight, design, and value; thus such items may be used to indicate wealth or an unfair acquisition of wealth.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would cause resentment of the excessive greed implied.

177. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Educated people are underpaid.

Key Symbols

Educated people

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Almost all Thai, but especially members of this group, feel that their income and standard of living are lower than they deserve. Members of this group complain that they cannot live as they learned to live while studying abroad. This appeal would intensify these feelings.

Task 46

178. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Government leaders, to appease Red China, will label as traitors many Western-educated Thai.

Key Symbols

Concept of innocent suffering

179. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Woman in rice field patting mud into holes in small dike around paddy for rice field, with emphasis on land crabs, labeled with the names of problems unsolved by the government, scuttling about and digging other holes.

Caption: "They dig holes and let the water out faster than the people can repair them."

Key Symbols

Stylized land crab

Meaning of Key Symbol: The boring of the land crabs is a common phenomenon.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would be perceived as a depiction of a burden upon the people caused by the past and continuing errors of their government.

Comment: It has been suggested that this appeal idea might be effective with any Thai group.

Thailand as a Whole

180. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Communist political-military instructor or security officer instructing young children 10-16 to report any criticism their family may make of government or occupation.

Caption: "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

Key Symbols

Communist instructor
Children

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would arouse anxiety that even children are being utilized by oppressive government to inform on family or friends. This would be offensive to the value of family life (unity of family is a primary value) and would also arouse fear of personal safety.

Comment: This appeal idea should be used with caution. The Communist forces would be likely to know that it would be difficult to achieve such a condition without several years of indoctrination, and unless the situation were actually developing, the Thai would be unlikely to believe it could develop.

Task 46, 47

181. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Priest(s) reading wall notice announcing government order to priests under 40 to renounce priesthood and to register with labor office and/or draft board.

Caption: "What is the future of Buddhism?"

(Assumes occupying power imposes restrictive measures on Buddhist institutions.)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would evoke revulsion that the occupying power can commandeer even the monks, and would arouse anxiety over the future of Buddhism.

Key Symbols

Priests reading wall notice

TASK 47: To get top national leaders to fight among themselves.

Administrators

182. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

"----- and his followers are monopolizing all the benefits of power. (The blank to be filled by the name of the chief Thai political leader, or by a lesser leader, other than any who may be of possible value to the United States.)

(Assumes that certain military leaders would assume high political position and the related prerequisites.)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Jealousy. This is a fundamental factor in the motivation of members of this group. Cliques are common and each clique thinks the other is getting the lion's share of benefits.

Key Symbols

Benefits of power

183. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

During the last war Thailand's independence was assured by the help given to the United States and its Western allies. Thailand's salvation now depends on having important leaders again assisting the United States.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would make some of the group amenable to working with the West and hostile toward those who were not willing to do so.

Key Symbols

Independence

Task 47, 48

Royalists

184. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Those in the government have betrayed the historic tradition and policy of the monarchy by dragging the country through the mire of a shameful mortgaging of the country's independence to an alien nation.

Key Symbols

Monarchy
Alien nation

Comment: It has been suggested that the appeal idea would have more relevance to the task if the phrase, "Those in the government" were to be changed to "Some royalists in the government."

Thailand as a Whole

185. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Your present leaders are hungry tigers who won't share their spoils.

Key Symbols

Hungry tigers

Meaning of Key Symbol: Although the Thai generally admire the tiger or the fox who can outwit his fellows, they become bitter about the "hungry" tiger, who refuses to share the spoils after he has had his own fill.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: If one set of leaders perceived that another group were the "hungry tigers" they would be envious and resentful.

TASK 48: To promote among members of the group feelings of resentment toward their country's allies.

Administrators

186. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

You know the Chinese—can you trust them? Are they thinking of Thailand?

Key Symbols

cég—Chinese
(derogatory form in Thai)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This would arouse resentment based on the continual fear of the Chinese community as an unassimilated and potentially disloyal element—and the realization that with their vast numbers they could easily swamp the ethnic Thai if immigration barriers were removed.

Task 48

187. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Chinese saluting Red China flag.

Caption: "They work for China, not Thailand."

Key Symbols

Red China flag

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: **Would** intensify existing suspicion that the Thailand Chinese **are** more loyal to China than to Thailand.

Buddhist Monks

188. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

"Chinese Communists destroy Buddhist monasteries." (Specific news stories must be cited.)

Key Symbols

Monasteries

Meaning of Key Symbol: The term in **Thai** for monastery includes virtually all Buddhist religious structures.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Buddhist monks would sympathize with oppressed Buddhist monks in other countries.

Comment: One consultant felt that because many Thai find it inconceivable that anyone could be irreligious, let alone antireligious, as specified in this appeal, the appeal could boomerang unless specific news stories, properly documented, were cited. (Note: Many Thai believe that it is the people who believe and spread the stories of religious oppression by the Communists who are the real evil ones, and that the stories of killing and destruction by the Communists are not really true.)

189. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Buddha in teaching posture with a brief quotation about peace.

Caption: "Thailand's false allies have forced Thailand into a war which has no meaning to Thailand and no good reason from the Thai viewpoint. War is contrary to the teaching of Buddha."

Key Symbols

The Buddha in teaching posture

Reference to teaching of Buddha

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: **The** monks would be encouraged to remind themselves and **others** of the futility of war for Thailand, and to underscore **this** with the doctrine of peace.

Task 48

190. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The Red Chinese want the Thai to be like the selves: to have no religion, to work and die for material gain.

Key Symbols

No religion
Material gain

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would create fear with regard to the continued existence of Buddhism in Thailand; this fear draws on the Thai stereotype of the Chinese as hardworking, unfeeling, and irreligious.

Comment: One consultant felt that because many Thai find it inconceivable that anyone could be irreligious, the appeal could boomerang unless specific news stories, properly documented, were cited.

Central Thai

191. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Pictorial concept: Man near starvation is asked to provide food for the allied country (the foe of the United States).

Caption: "Give us food."

Key Symbols

Concept of hunger

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: If hunger actually existed, the Thai would be led to believe that it was caused by their alliance with the foe of the United States.

Western-Educated Elite

192. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Man with carrying stick across shoulders. Basket suspended from one end of stick is filled with military equipment, basket at other end of stick filled with men in uniform of Thailand's ally: Man representing Thailand; items in baskets, the burden being carried by Thailand.
Caption: "The burden bearer" or "The Coolie."

Key Symbols

Burdened figure
(burdens imposed by alliance).

Comment: This appeal would play upon the dislike of the educated elite for manual labor.

Thailand as a Whole

193. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Your leaders thought they were running away from a tiger and so have fallen in with a crocodile.

Key Symbols

Paraphrase of Thai proverb:

*nīi sya pa corākhēe
khyn tōnmāj pāraṇ
tēn*

"Escape from a tiger,
meet a crocodile;
climb up a tree,
meet a hornet's
nest."

GOAL: PRIVATIZATION

TASK 49: To make members of the group dissatisfied with living conditions (poor or insufficient food, inadequate clothing, excessive restrictions, etc.).

Administrators

194. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: An empty bowl of rice and hungry child.
Caption: "Is this necessary?"

Key Symbols

Empty rice bowl and hungry child

Armed Forces (Political)

195. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

"In the land there is rice (*naj naa mīi khāaw*), but it's going to China."

Key Symbols

naj naa mīi khāaw—
"in the land there is
rice"

Meaning of Key Symbol: A well-known old Thai saying implying that Thailand is rich.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Thai would undoubtedly resent (in time of wartime hardship) the fact that their wealth was being exported to China. This appeal would also stimulate what appears to be an underlying fear of starvation among the Thai—although this fear has little basis in reality.

196. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Fat Chinese merchant (dressed in typical Chinese fashion) taking rice with one hand from a group of emaciated Thai, including a farmer, woman, child, and soldier, while simultaneously handing rice over to a Red Chinese soldier with the other hand.

Key Symbols

Fat Chinese merchant
Emaciated Thai
Red Chinese soldier

Task 49

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal is designed to arouse well-established feelings of resentment and suspicion toward the Chinese, who have been suspected of sending large parts of Thai wealth to China as remittances, and who are assumed to be loyal to China. It is intended to focus blame for any shortages on these Chinese businessmen, and ultimately on the requirements of the Chinese army.

197. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A thin, poorly dressed Thai soldier contrasted with a sleek, fat, well-dressed Chinese soldier.

Caption: "We are like this because we've joined with the Chinese."
(*khaw kab ceg thyy pen jaa nua.*)

Key Symbols

khaw kab—"to join with, associate with"
ceg—a derogatory term for Chinese

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Thai generally believe that the Chinese have the advantage of them economically; this appeal would lead them to perceive even relative shortages and to blame the Chinese.

Central Thai

198. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Shows a man, emaciated, wearing torn clothes. One of his legs is chained.

Caption: "Starved and chained."

Key Symbols

Chained

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal is designed to create an impression that living conditions are very poor, and that malnutrition exists, and that clothing is not adequate. The chain on the man's leg indicates that he is under severe restriction.

Comment: One consultant is of the opinion that it is necessary to more clearly convey the idea that the chained man is Thai.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 194*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Central Thai, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Chinese

199. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

The Communists caused the war and they are responsible for the way you are living now. As long as you stay under their control you have nothing to look forward to but hunger and slavery.

Key Symbols

Equation: Communist
control=hunger and
slavery

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It can be assumed that the predominantly mercantile Chinese will suffer under the stated conditions. The suggested appeal appears a simple means of establishing a relationship between Communist overlordship and bad living conditions.

Mass-Media Personnel

*See *Appeal Idea No. 201*, developed for this task for use with Professional Classes and judged appropriate also for Mass-Media Personnel, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

200. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Buffalo working in field, of farmer in his work clothes, etc.

Caption: "Remember the old saying from the days of *raamkamhēi*—'there is fish in the water, rice in the field . . . etc.'? It was the 'Golden Peninsula' once. What happened?"

Key Symbols

Pastoral scene
"Golden Peninsula"
raamkamhēi

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would intensify feeling of poor living conditions by creating memory of the past—traditional abundance of resources in most of the country.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 195*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Mass-Media Personnel, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Professional Classes

201. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Thai family group in Western clothing (or at least father in Western clothing) eating a large meal. Figure of Buddha in background.

Caption: "You can live like this again."

Key Symbols

Family group
Meal
Western dress
Buddha figure

Task 49

202. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Rice straw stacks in the rural areas.

Caption: "Harvest Time, how much do you get?"

Key Symbols

Rice straw stacks (of familiar shape)

Meaning of Key Symbol: Many straw stacks indicate a bountiful rice harvest—and rice is the basic food of the Thai people.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal is designed to remind members of the professions that the Bangkok Plain is the rice bowl of Asia—yet the people (under the assumed circumstances) have only the broken, low-grade rice to eat; and an insufficient quantity of that.

203. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

If the Communists win, you will be without good food and housing, and club life, as well as deprived of your cars, radios, and television sets.

Key Symbols

Concept of luxuries as status symbols

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This group is accustomed, or looks forward to being accustomed, to the "good life." The threat of deprivation would not only affect their living conditions but also threaten their status.

Comment: One of the consultants was of the opinion that not enough members of the professional classes possessed the things mentioned to make this appeal more than a moderately effective one. Received by the more impecunious administrators, this appeal might be seen as merely ironical.

Royalists

204. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Since King *raamkamhēṣṇ*, the Thai have had more than enough rice to eat—Why is there so little now? Where is Thai rice going today, while people hunger?

Key Symbols

Rice

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal is intended to evoke recollection of days of plenty when the Thai did not even have to work hard to get rice to eat; to call attention to current scarcity, and to imply that the rice is being shipped out to China (with which the Thai government has allied itself).

Comment: One consultant called attention to the fact that the Thai people experienced this kind of shortage during their war with Japan.

Western-Educated Elite

205. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Pictorial concept in three parts: First, the reasonably well-fed enemy soldier sitting at table on top of which is at least wholesome, basic food; second, the Thai family which has visibly less on the table; and third, the Buddhist priest who prays in temple beside empty "begging" bowl.

Caption: "A contented enemy—A hungry family—A starving priest."

Key Symbols

The presence or lack of food on the respective tables
The expressions on the faces
Empty begging bowls

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would incense the Thai over the compounded suffering created by feeding one enemy soldier well; and it would arouse religious indignation.

Comment: One consultant points out that it would be unusual for a priest to be starving while a Thai family has food, even an inadequate amount, since the people would share what they had with the monks.

206. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Muang Thai (*myan thaj*) is a good place with fish in the water and rice on the land. Remember?

(Assumes that production and distribution of food have become difficult and prices are high.)

Key Symbols

Abundance
"Fish in the water and rice in the field"

GOAL: PANIC

TASK 51: To get members of the group to panic or behave in a disorganized manner.

Thailand as a Whole

207. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

"Warning! _____ will be bombed next!"

Key Symbols

Concept of self-preservation

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Thai would not be likely to remain at their posts if they knew that the specific area they were in was going to be bombed.

Task 52

GOAL: SUBVERSION AND RESISTANCE

TASK 52: To get members of the group to slow down or create delays.

Administrators

208. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Thai child looking at empty rice bowl.

Caption: "Your false allies are just bleeding you of your food supplies. Why let them do it?"

Key Symbols

Empty rice bowl
Child looking at bowl

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Administrators would undertake to slow down any operations which supplied food to the allied country.

209. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The Thai people have a rice bowl empty, nothing left—Thailand's false ally has the fat of the land.

Key Symbols

Empty rice bowl
Fat of the land

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: When the Thai were to realize how much their ally had taken from them, they would be shocked as well as increasingly hungry. Under such circumstances they would refuse to further the cause of the U.S. enemy. They have said, in analogous situations, that they would "rather eat grass" than to work only to give away the fruits of their labor.

Comment: This appeal should be used with caution: it would be very effective if there is in fact a food shortage; but the Thai are used to plenty of food and it would just seem ridiculous if they were not aware of a shortage which actually affected the family table.

Central Thai

*See Appeal Idea No. 209, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Central Thai, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Mass-Media Personnel

210. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Work means more work. The Chinese ask us to train and work but give us nothing. Report sick at every opportunity.

(This will be most effective if Chinese are "cracking down" on fun-loving Thai and not permitting holidays, insisting on rigorous training, etc.)

Key Symbols

Work
Chinese

Meaning of Key Symbols: Work is considered unattractive and fun (*sànuq*) is more highly valued in Thailand. The Chinese are disliked, particularly when associated in the Thai mind with a position of power over the Thai.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would evoke annoyance with the Chinese bordering on disgust or hostility because of insistence on work (which would be attributed to Chinese dictation to a weaker ally). Appeal should also stimulate desire to malingering, since such malingering could be justified by blaming the Chinese for not providing sufficient amenities, holidays, and opportunities for fun.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 209*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Mass-Media Personnel, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

TASK 53: To get members of the group to malingering or practice absenteeism.

Armed Forces (Political)

211. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Your first duty is to protect, feed, and preserve your family.

Key Symbols

Family

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal is intended to draw the soldier's attention away from his military duties by making him want to leave to look after his loved ones.

Central Thai

212. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: An empty, deserted factory.

Caption: "Do not work to help the real enemy."

(Especially applicable if people are forced to work on holidays.)

Key Symbols

Do not work

Task 53, 55

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would (by the illustration) suggest to the Thai that he could malingering or absent himself from productive work. The caption would help him rationalize such action.

Comment: It has been suggested that this could also apply very well to transportation and communication systems as well as to factory work.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 211*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Central Thai, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Thailand as a Whole

*See *Appeal Idea No. 210*, developed for Task 52 for use with Mass-Media Personnel and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

213. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

"Warning! Stay home from work.
----- will be bombed at any
time."

Key Symbols

Warning! Stay home

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: If issuance of such an appeal has already been closely coordinated with actual bombings, the further use of it should evoke a desire (amounting almost to panic) to stay away from the area named.

TASK 55: To get members of the group to commit sabotage or participate in other forms of active resistance.

Mass-Media Personnel

214. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Do not serve your false ally's purpose—a clandestine newspaper of TRUTH would serve your own nation—just as occasional damage to the machines of the servile press would help Thailand.

Key Symbols

Help Thailand

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: If control or oppression has been extreme, mass-media personnel would welcome the suggestion that they start their own clandestine paper, and the opportunity for limited sabotage would be theirs by the nature of their profession.

Western-Educated Elite

215. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Enemy officers or officials subjected to physical indignities of a humorous vein, but which result in compromise of the enemy war effort.

Caption: "It is fun (*sánúy*) to play practical jokes on ignorant people." (More likely to be effective if military or civilian officials of a foreign power were residing in or occupying Thailand.)

Key Symbols

Fun
"To play a practical joke"
Ignorant

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Thai love fun, and the younger people like to play practical jokes, especially on foreigners. To bait the ignorant is regarded as amusing.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Love of fun combined with an attitude of superiority would encourage acts in the genre of the famous feeding of vultures as "turkeys" to Japanese officers during World War II. Some Thai who would not be motivated by serious political considerations might respond to this appeal and cause damage and harassment.

216. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Theatrical version of the mischievous "Monkey-Man" inflicting damage on military equipment.

Caption: "A Tricky Fighter"

Key Symbols

"Monkey-Man"

Meaning of Key Symbol: In classic Thai theater the "Monkey-Man" is a tricky individual who, in spite of crafty maneuvering, is eventually on the right side.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal would suggest that damage can be inflicted on the false ally by trickery.

Comment: It has been suggested that a variation on this appeal idea might include more puckish humor (in line with the tradition).

Task 56

TASK 56: To get members of the group to organize to take part in resistance movements in enemy areas.

Administrators

217. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Thailand for the Thai.

Key Symbols

Concept of ethnic nationalism

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Slogans and songs embodying this idea are familiar to all Thai. (The poems of King Vajiravudh and the songs of *lūay wīcid waathakaan* are notable examples, and are full of quotable lines on this subject.) Repetition of the theme would remind the Thai that their alliance makes them subject to the control of a traditional enemy power. This would lead them to acts of resistance.

218. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Group of Thai around a table talking.

Caption: "It is better to work for one's self than for another country. The Thai in areas controlled by the false ally should organize for mutual support and morale."

Key Symbols

"Work for oneself"

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would suggest the desirability of working for Thailand rather than for the enemy of the United States, and the idea of talking around a table would suggest the possibility of "talking up" such resistance activity.

219. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration in classical style of the battle on elephants between King náreesūan and the foreign oppressor (historically, Burmese). Show symbolism of elephants, spears, tiered umbrellas, etc.

Caption: "The Thai, children of King náreesūan, have always been free."

Key Symbols

Thai (meaning both Thai people and "free")

King náreesūan
Elephants, spears, etc.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Thai have always made much of the double meaning of the word "Thai." náreesūan is a well-known 16th-century king who liberated Thailand from a period of Burmese domination. Elephants, spears, etc. are symbols of heroic warfare in the classic tradition.

Task 56

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would remind the Thai of their long history of political independence and recall one of their great cultural heroes—King náreesúan. (Classic illustrations of náreesúan leading the Thai forces from elephant back is familiar to all educated Thai.) All this would lead them to think of ways in which they would resist the encroachments on their independence deriving from an alliance with a traditional enemy.

Comment: It has been suggested that the appeal might be more effective (at least as a variation) if the chief character were King taagsin, who is less famous than náreesúan but who rallied the Thai forces for a comeback to defeat the "victorious" Burmese—this might be a closer analogy to the task.

220. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A figure with a nasty, leering Chinese face and dressed in Chinese costume.

Caption: "Why help him?"

Key Symbols

Leering Chinese face

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Thai fear the Chinese. This would play upon that fear and make them think they are sacrificing for a bad people.

Mass-Media Personnel

221. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Put your skills to work for your country's freedom—join a resistance movement and help to disseminate the truth.

Key Symbols

Freedom

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would evoke feelings of usefulness, and purpose, which would lead mass-media personnel to think of ways to make their work contribute to their country's freedom.

Professional Classes

222. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

The enemy of the United States will be defeated, and the United States is going to win; now is the time to gain credit with the winning side.

(The military trend would have to be relatively unfavorable to our enemy to give this appeal credibility.)

Key Symbols

Gain credit with the winning side

Task 56

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would attract to resistance movements those Thai who are not firmly committed to the U.S. enemy and who can hope to benefit from the downfall of a Communist-controlled regime. Some Thai are willing to so commit themselves if there appears to be a reasonable chance of success.

Comment: It has been suggested that unless this appeal idea were to be circulated in the form of rumor it might have little usefulness. Coming from overt U.S. sources, it would probably seem to disparage the Thai character.

Western-Educated Elite

223. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Portray Chinese as enemies of Thai culture: the king, Buddhism, village freedom, etc.

Caption: "Get together and resist this threat to Thailand!"

Key Symbols

Threat to Thailand

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would create favorable sentiments toward the West and antagonism toward the Chinese, whose war would be perceived as endangering Thai culture. Thus, some Thai would work to achieve victory for the West.

Comment: This appeal idea should be used cautiously, both with respect to the hazard of using direct attacks upon the Chinese and with respect to the use (in this context) of Buddhism. It has been suggested that, with the proper caution, this appeal idea could be divided and its several facets used separately to make three or more appeals.

224. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Python hidden in jungle growth watching figures in uniform of Communist allies marching past.

Caption: "Be wise and crafty as the serpent."

Key Symbols

Python

Meaning of Key Symbol: Craftiness, stealth, and strength: based on general belief in the wisdom of the serpent (especially the python, which despite its great size can move swiftly and stealthily to seize and swallow its prey).

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would convey the idea that by acting as the python, the Thai could greatly damage the enemy of the United States and at the same time display their own wisdom.

Task 57

TASK 57: To get members of the group to revolt or to attempt secession.

Western-Educated Elite

225. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Illustration: A Thai man (in upper-class costume) striking irons labeled "our false alliance" from legs of emaciated prisoners.

Struck leg irons

Caption: "Free your fellow men."

Meaning of Key Symbol: Prisoners wearing leg irons are common throughout Thailand (especially in areas removed from Bangkok); that they are psychologically and physically fettering is well appreciated.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The idea of striking the leg iron labeled as "false alliance" would suggest rebellious action with regard to the "ally."

Comment: The phrase "upper-class costume," used in describing the illustration, should be interpreted as the costume appropriate to the particular recipient group—doctors, government officials, professors, etc. When the recipient group is not that precisely determined, Western dress would be appropriate.

226. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Trained, fighting elephant carrying old-style military equipment, fighting man or men in saddle—poised for attack.

Fighting elephant

Caption: "Thailand has always won over our oppressors in the past."

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would reinforce Thai belief that their country has always been able to shake off its troubles and remain free and independent. The fact that many of their traditional troubles involved attempts to free themselves from entangling alliances would suggest similar action now.

Comment: It has been suggested that this appeal idea could also be useful with members of the armed forces.

Task 59

PROJECTED GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION

The special audience resides in a country or area controlled by United States military government or civil affairs (Consolidation).

GOAL: ENCOURAGEMENT

TASK 59: To help rebuild among members of the group a sense of national unity or group solidarity.

Armed Forces (Political)

*See *Appeal Idea No. 230*, developed for this task for use with Professional Classes and judged appropriate also for Armed Forces (Political), with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

227. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: The King of Thailand and the Emerald Buddha with the flag of Thailand in the background.

King, Emerald Buddha
Flag

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would invoke the strongest traditions of Thai unity—religion and love of king and country. It would serve as a reminder of the King's position as spiritual leader of the nation and as reaffirmation of religious obligations which are intertwined with patriotism.

Comment: It has been suggested that for certain purposes and certain circumstances, the operator might wish to add to the illustration an American soldier looking on with approval, or saluting from the background. The scene should be portrayed with such caution that it would not appear to have been a puppet tableau contrived by the American soldier.

Buddhist Monks

228. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Cooperate with your leaders with all your might and Thailand will regain its former greatness.

Paraphrase of Thai proverb:

"aasā naāj hāj
tem reej"

"When you cooperate with your superior do it with all your might."

Comment: *Situational Effect*—Use of this appeal idea could have adverse effects if the Thai had no confidence in, or despised, the leaders in question.

Frontier Police

229. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Reproduction of the Emerald Buddha and the paintings which are presently located in a courtyard of the Grand Palace and Emerald Buddha Temple.
Caption: "Your Thailand."

Key Symbols

Emerald Buddha

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeal should give the rural police tangible rallying point for the future.

Professional Classes

230. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

A picture with two panels: First panel—Ruins of Ayutthaya. Second panel—Royal palace in Bangkok.
Caption: "The spirit of the Thai people is stronger than those who would destroy Thailand."

Key Symbols

Ruins of Ayutthaya
Royal Palace in Bangkok

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The picture of Ayutthaya would bring to mind its destruction by the Burmese, and the present Royal Palace would indicate the ability of the Thai people to rebuild their culture and civilization after suffering a serious military catastrophe.

Comment: It has been suggested that instead of the "Royal Palace" (of which there are at least two which could be portrayed—the one in the Grand Palace enclosure or the one in *suan dūsi*) it might be well to portray the *wād phrákēw* (place of the Emerald Buddha) or the *wād ārun*. All Thai know and would recognize these famous temples.

231. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Representation of members of this group (identified by professional symbols, such as the lawyer's robe, the stethoscope, etc.) hand in hand with other classes.

Key Symbols

mid an thée

Caption: *mid an thée*.

"True friends."

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would recall the basic interests shared by members of the professional classes with others in Thailand.

*See *Appeal Idea* No. 227, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Professional Classes, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 59, 60

Thailand as a Whole

232. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: The Emerald Buddha.

Emerald Buddha

Caption: "The Emerald Buddha—
Guardian of the Nation."

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Emerald Buddha is revered by all Thai as a symbol of protection of the nation. It is the principal image of the Buddha in the Chakri (*chakri*) dynasty, and as such it rests in the King's own Temple within the Palace grounds. It was won in battle and is considered the palladium of the nation—as long as it remains inviolate, the nation is secure.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would evoke courage and confidence for the future of the nation. This is due to the "benevolent" nature of the Emerald Buddha (some images are regarded as "malevolent" and must be disposed of or the owner will incur injury or loss)—it is the one image which is benevolent on a national scale.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 228*, developed for this task for use with Buddhist Monks and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 60: To help give the members of the group encouragement and hope for the future of their liberated country or area.

Administrators

233. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Recall the past history of the United States in Southeast Asia: for example, early transference of sovereignty to the Philippines at the close of the Japanese War. A cooperative Thailand has a new chance for freedom and prosperity.

Philippines

Meaning of Key Symbol: There is sympathetic feeling for the Philippines and widespread knowledge of their recent history.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would give a rationale for hope and confidence in the future.

Task 60

234. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Remember the United States' insistence on full restoration of Thailand's sovereignty at close of Japanese War, against all who wanted to "punish" Thailand for having been allied with Japanese; and U.S. sponsorship of Thai entry into United Nations. With your cooperation now, Thailand's freedom will once more be restored.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would give the Thai confidence in the will and ability of the United States to restore full sovereignty and well-being.

Comment: This appeal idea would probably have high effectiveness relative to the task at hand. It should be used, however, only after consideration of other tasks which the United States might wish to accomplish for which this might be irrelevant or even lead to adverse effect.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 232*, developed for Task 59 for use with Thailand as a Whole and judged appropriate also for Administrators for this task with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Key Symbols

National sovereignty

Buddhist Monks

235. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

The Thai people who follow righteous principles will ever attain greatness, for these have been composed in order to enable all living creatures to gain happiness and prosperity.

Key Symbols

Paraphrase of Thai precept:

"*tham làw nū
khrāj tham taam
cā thyy khwaam
sūg thūg mīa
phāyā tān wāj hāj
sānpāsāad hāj
thyy sūg sāvād
lee*"

"He who follows this doctrine (of righteousness) will always meet with happiness, since it has been established for the sake of all creatures"

Task 60

Mass-Media Personnel

*See *Appeal Idea No. 234*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Mass-Media Personnel, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

University Students and Faculties

236. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

The Thai were first in Asia in riches and happiness before the war; the Thai will lead Asia again when peace returns.

Key Symbols

Riches and happiness

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Should stimulate strong desire for a return to the "good old days"—and the assumption that such can be achieved.

237. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration in four parts: First, a muddy pond about which there is little that is attractive; second a lotus bud just breaking the surface of the muddy water; third, the long-stemmed plant almost ready to bloom; and fourth, the blooming plant in pond with other blooming lotus flowers.

Key Symbols

Concept of the beautiful lotus growing out of humble situation

Caption: "A humble beginning—sturdy growth—a bursting flower. Follow the example of the lotus flower."

Meaning of Key Symbol: This is not an uncommon display. The lotus is a common plant in Thailand and grows along the rural *klongs* and backyard pools; yet it is loved for its beauty and symbolism.

Probable Reaction to Appeal: Would evoke recognition that out of seemingly impoverished conditions come, progressively, growth and ultimately the reward.

Comment: It has been suggested that perhaps "The seed is there" might be substituted for "a humble beginning."

238. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Thai farmer standing beside sign which is advertising for contract labor to help plow the field, plant the seed, and *prepare* for the harvest. Second illustration would show Uncle Sam signing up or shaking hands with farmer. Third illustration would show both Thai and Uncle Sam working in field side by side. Caption: "Helping to speed recovery."

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would attract friendly understanding and support of United States administration and control, which would be perceived as cooperative assistance helping to speed recovery of the basic economy.

Comment: A little concern has been expressed with regard to Uncle Sam's planting rice in the mud, it was suggested that maybe his helpers should be doing the actual planting. It has also been suggested that this basic appeal idea would be effective for use with the Central Thailand farmers.

Western-Educated Elite

*See *Appeal Idea No. 237*, developed for this task for use with University Students and Faculties and judged appropriate also for Western-Educated Elite, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Thailand as a Whole

239. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

"Being Free Men, the Thai have never been slaves; and have wealth which is never mentioned."

Key Symbols

Concept of working together toward a commonly sought goal

Key Symbols

Paraphrase of Thai proverb:

"*ton pen thaj jaa
kroh thad mui sin
jaa vad man mee
sin jaa aay mui*"

"You are a free man, why make yourself a slave? If you are really rich, why should you have to let people know and boast about it? (People will certainly know it by themselves.)"

Task 60, 61

240. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Bangkok (and Thailand) is a natural center for international diplomatic and economic development of Southeast Asia, given the opportunity for leadership which we are now providing.

Key Symbols

Bangkok as international center

Meaning of Key Symbol: National prestige is an intimate and important matter with most Thai, and particularly with newsmen.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Having had a position of importance before the assumed struggle (for example, having SEATO headquarters located in their country), the Thai would be anxious again to enjoy the prestige and status afforded by such a position and would look forward hopefully and gratefully to the opportunity.

**See Appeal Idea No. 235, developed for this task for use with Buddhist Monks and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.*

GOAL: COMPLIANCE

TASK 61: To prevent among the members of the group a desire for the return to power of the defeated regime.

Central Thai

241. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Thai people folk dancing.

Caption: "Happiness—fun, (*sânûg*) now that there is a new regime."

Key Symbols

Fun (*sânûg*)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would create among the Thai people, who love the concept of pleasure denoted by *sânûg*, a feeling that present conditions of life are far superior to those which existed under the defeated regime.

Comment: It has been suggested that one or two smiling Americans be looking on, clapping and keeping time with the music.

Western-Educated Elite

242. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Alert-looking government of new faces around conference table with small Thai flag mounted in center. Inject eager, business-like complexion into picture. Blackboard behind central figures delineates tasks which new government has set for itself. In short, ready-to-go attitude is present.

Caption: "Fresh minds—a fresh start—a bright future."

Key Symbols

Concept of efficiency and hopefulness

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would arouse desire for, and acceptance of, that which is fresh and new; and encourage reliance on younger leaders.

Comment: Though under the circumstances this appeal would have effectiveness, it should be used with discretion; there would remain a tendency to respect elders more than youth. The emphasis should be on the "fresh start" and only incidentally on youth (as implementers).

TASK 62: To counter rumors and false reports among members of the group.

University Students and Faculties

243. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

The enemy believes the Thai love rumors. Consider whether the next rumor you hear might not have been started by the enemy to serve his purposes.

Key Symbols

Rumors

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: In point of fact, the Thai do love rumor. They are great gossipers—but like most gossips, they do not like to be so labeled. By telling them that the enemy so labels them and is using them for his own purpose, this appeal would encourage them to think twice before repeating or starting rumors.

Task 62, 63

244. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Young Thai male university student listens skeptically to a speaking dragon which holds before its head a mask or figure designed to look like a speaking (or whispering) human face (Asian but not clearly identifiable as Chinese).

Caption: "Investigate rumors before you believe."

Key Symbols

Dragon masked to conceal identity

Meaning of Key Symbol: The dragon symbolizes China (in this case Red China). The fact that it is concealed indicates its nefarious nature.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Thai are by nature skeptical; this appeal should make them distrustful of information for which they do not have a legitimate source.

Comment: the operator is warned that perhaps the dragon is more fixed in the American mind as a stereotype of China than it is in the Thai mind. For this reason, it may be well to attach a small label to the dragon in such a way that the dragon emerges as clearly Chinese behind the mask.

TASK 63: To create among members of the group negative attitudes and acts toward aggressive militarism.

Mass-Media Personnel

245. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

"It is fine to live in Thailand when everything is at peace. All good Buddhists desire peace and tranquillity. As an opinion leader, you should do everything you can to bring peace to Thailand."

Key Symbols

Peace, tranquillity

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would reinforce traditional attitudes of the Buddhist-oriented Thai.

Comment: This appeal idea could also be used for the projected military situation in which Thailand is occupied by the foe of the United States.

University Students and Faculties

246. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Enemy tank about to crush Buddhist temple with Buddha figure clearly discernible. Tank bears label of enemy nation.
Caption: "Oppose the aggressor."

Key Symbols

Threat to Buddha
image or temple

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: If properly presented, this appeal should evoke extremely strong resentment—but only if the Thai are prepared to believe the appeal.

Comment: This appeal should be used cautiously and only if the enemy of the United States has made the appeal credible by attacks on religion.

247. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Man or woman releasing sparrow or any small bird from cage.
Caption: "Make Merit" or "Thou shalt not Kill" (Thai version).

Key Symbols

Caged bird released
Merit-making

Meaning of Key Symbols: It is a common practice in Thailand to purchase and release caged birds to "make merit". This is an act prompted by the Buddhist philosophy of giving freedom and preserving life.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would appeal to religious philosophy (without giving offense—since it makes no direct reference to the Buddha) to preserve life instead of taking it.

Western-Educated Elite

248. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Chinese troops on march followed by poorly clothed, ill-fed Thai porters carrying ammunition and other supplies, obviously under conditions of forced march.
Caption: "Born a Thai. Now a slave. Such Indignity." (Thai are being pressed into porter-supply service for Chinese troops.)

Key Symbols

Thai as porters for
Chinese military

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would arouse indignation at thought of Thai working for the Chinese military—especially as menial porters.

Task 63

249. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Thai family looking longingly at picture of Thai (husband and father) working as porter for Chinese troops in adjacent countries. Caption: "When will they be reunited?"

(Assumes Thai have been pressed into porter-supply service for Chinese troops.)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would arouse resentment toward those who have taken Thai men away from their families to work for a foreign military establishment.

Key Symbols

Thai family (family unity)
Thai men as porters for Chinese troops

Thailand as a Whole

250. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

To seek power through guns and "fierce hearts" (*caj ráaj*) can only lead to ruin.

Meaning of Key Symbol: This term also means evil, savage, bad. Physical aggressiveness is very low on the Thai scale of values.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would appeal to the Thai belief that it is best (and brings merit) to be of "cool heart" or "soft-hearted" and gentle, rather than violent of temperament or action.

Key Symbols

caj ráaj—fierce heart

251. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Do not rely too much on thy own knowledge of the road, nor put blind trust in other people not well known to you; or you will find yourself in trying straits.

Key Symbols

Free translation of Thai proverb:

"*jàa wáaj caj thaay
jàa waay caj
khon cà con caj
ee*"

Task 64, 66

TASK 64: To create receptive attitudes among members of the group to changes approved by the occupation forces.

Royalists

252. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

For King, for Nation, for Race, help our friends to restore order. Excise the evils done by the enemy.

(Assumes that the country, or a part of it, was previously occupied by the enemy of the United States or controlled by a collaborationist Thai government.)

Key Symbols

King
Nation
Race

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would stimulate members of the group to correct or reverse deeds done by the enemy and to cooperate freely with the United States, by invoking the symbols with highest significance to this group.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 262*, developed for Task 67 for use with Royalists and judged appropriate also for Royalists for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 66: To get members of the group to assist civil affairs and/or military government in restoring law and order in occupied or liberated territories.

Administrators

253. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Successful agriculture, in a country with monsoonal climate (accordingly, the national food supply) is wholly dependent on human adaptation to the regular cycle of the seasons. If law and order are not promptly restored, another full year's supply must be sacrificed.

Key Symbols

Cycle of the seasons
(law and order)
Food supply

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Members of the group have a natural interest in having the people (including themselves) well fed and prosperous. The appeal would indicate that cooperation would help to achieve this.

Task 66

Comment: In any message constructed from this appeal idea, the connection between the statement and the task will have to be made clear. As a variation, or supplement, it has been suggested that it be shown that the common enemy has destroyed (or is destroying in the areas under his control) the irrigation system of Thailand. The Thai have done good work in irrigation development and are proud of it.

254. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Officers and/or soldiers holding up or putting in place the beams of a traditional-style Thai house.

Caption: "The country must have beams and rafters." *bān myān tōng mui khyy mui pee*

Key Symbols

Proverb:

bān myān—
nation, country.
fatherland *khyy*
li pee—terms for
principal sup-
porting pieces
in house con-
struction

Meaning of Key Symbols: This is an old proverb which still has meaning and seems likely to endure.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The proverb would stimulate a desire for organized and effective government.

Comment: The relevancy of this appeal idea to the task will have to be established in any message. One consultant suggests caution lest the appeal encourage the Thai to work together but ignore the military government or civil affairs authority.

Central Thai

255. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Thai and U.S. officers helping each other to arrest a thief.

Caption: "Help Restore Peace."

Key Symbols

Helping to arrest
thieves
Peace
Cooperation

Meaning of Key Symbols: Concept of living in peace and serenity free from thieves.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would indicate the desirability of living in peace and serenity, and would indicate that the Thai and Americans could cooperate to achieve this.

*See Appeal Idea No. 253, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Central Thai, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Frontier Police

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>256. <i>Appeal Idea</i> (Rating: 1)</p> <p>Illustration: Thai police directing traffic.</p> <p>Caption: "You are the law."</p> | <p><i>Key Symbols</i></p> <p>Power—law</p> |
|---|--|

Professional Classes

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>257. <i>Appeal Idea</i> (Rating: 1)</p> <p>The professional classes should resume the positions of leadership and respect that they normally held in peacetime.</p> <p>Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would both flatter members of the group and involve them in cooperative assistance through their technical and professional skills.</p> | <p><i>Key Symbols</i></p> <p>Leadership, respect (concept of professional prestige)</p> |
|---|---|

Royalists

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>258. <i>Appeal Idea</i> (Rating: 2)</p> <p>Help establish order; it is a first step in reestablishing government.</p> <p>Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The suggestion that reestablishment of a Thai government is contemplated should stimulate royalist cooperation with the United States authorities. The royalists would hope to assume a considerable share in the formulation and conduct of a new Thai government.</p> | <p><i>Key Symbols</i></p> <p>Order, government</p> |
|---|--|

TASK 67: To get members of the group to support the control of civilians, displaced persons, and prisoners of war.

Administrators

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>259. <i>Appeal Idea</i> (Rating: 2)</p> <p>You are invited to work with us in restoring your free country; please cooperate (use polite Thai ending).</p> <p>Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would appeal to the Thai penchant for politeness and enhance possibility of cooperation.</p> | <p><i>Key Symbols</i></p> <p>Polite Thai construction and phraseology</p> |
|--|---|

Task 67

260. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Rumor: We may as well make the best of the present situation; cooperation may put us in a better position after the war.

Key Symbols
Better position
after war

Chinese

261. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The objective of the occupation forces is to insure peace and security for all who cooperate in restoring the economy: normal business will be encouraged and discriminatory practices of any kind forbidden.

Key Symbols
Peace and security

Comment: In such conditions, and with this group, the appeal idea will gain or lose effectiveness sharply in proportion to how well it expresses the actual state of affairs.

Royalists

262. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

"For King, Nation, Race Help to restore order. Lawlessness endangers the Kingdom. Peace hastens the restoration of Thai freedom."

(Assumes that the monarchy still exists and also that the greater part of central Thailand, including Bangkok, has been liberated.)

Key Symbols
King
Nation
Race
Freedom

Meaning of Key Symbols: These typify all that is most important to members of this group.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would serve to remind the royalists that continued violence or disorder provides opportunities for the enemies of the King and the traditional elements in Thai society, and that their fortunes are anchored to the King and the maintenance of traditional political institutions.

Task 67

263. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Depict royalists in responsible and humanitarian positions, symbolized by desk, standing eager subordinates, etc.

Caption: "The nation needs experienced leaders."

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would encourage the royalists to respond favorably to opportunities for assuming leadership, both in administration and in humane efforts.

Key Symbols

Class pride

Leadership

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Task 69

PROJECTED GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION

The special audience resides in a country or area which is occupied by armed forces of the enemy of the United States.

GOAL: GOOD WILL TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

TASK 69: To convince the members of the group that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable (build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between members of the group and the United States; create an appreciation of U.S. culture and way of life, etc.).

Armed Forces (Political)

264. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Since America's independence and the foundation of the Bangkok Kingdom, the United States and Thailand have traveled parallel paths, in good times and bad, with the same friends and the same enemies. Today, in Thailand's adversity, America seeks to help and free the Thai people in order that we may, once again, travel the historical path to freedom together.

Key Symbols

Historical friendship
U.S. aid

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke a general recollection of a history of almost continuous good relations between Thailand and the U.S., and by implication tend to discredit the country occupying Thailand.

Comment: It has been suggested that this appeal idea might be broken down into several appeals based on the single theme.

Buddhist Monks

265. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

As the joints on a bamboo stem are unequally spaced, so even brothers are of different minds; so even though you may not understand the Americans at all times be assured that their cause is just and that they will win in the end.

Key Symbols

Thai proverb:

"máj lam nyn jan
táan plón phí lé
nóon jan táan
caj"

"As the joints on
a bamboo stem
are unequally
spaced so even
brothers are of
different minds"

Comment: This appeal idea should be used cautiously inasmuch as there is the stated presumption that the Thai do not understand the Americans.

Enlisted Men

266. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

The United States wants to help
Thailand to be free.

Key Symbols

Help Thailand to be
free

*See *Appeal Idea No. 264*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Enlisted Men, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Chinese

*See *Appeal Idea No. 264*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Officers, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Royalists

267. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Dual pictures on a single sheet: (1) a village monk seated in front of an image of Buddha, preaching to a small circle of villagers; (2) an American minister standing by a cross in front of a small-town church preaching to a small group.

Caption: "Thai and Americans both have Freedom of Religion."

Key Symbols

Freedom of Religion
Image of Buddha
Christian Cross

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would assure them again that a U.S. victory would not endanger their religious life.

Task 69

Comment: It has been suggested that as a variant (or as a substitution) pictures of a mosque or other religious temple—all in the United States—be used with or instead of the Christian church. It has also been pointed out, in support of the basic idea presented, that the Thai say that Buddhism is the religion for the Thai and that Jesus Christ is the God for the foreigner—implying a religious philosophy of "live and let live."

268. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Depict Thai Red Cross utilizing American equipment, under leadership of the King, who is official sponsor.

Caption: "Mercy even in war."

Meaning of Key Symbol: It accords with Thai ideals, and many Thai think of it as an "American" development.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would link the Americans and Thai together as working for moral and humanitarian objectives.

Key Symbols

Red Cross

Thailand as a Whole

269. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration with following symbols: Red, white, and blue of U.S. and Thai flags.

U.S. Constitution

Thai Constitution of 1932

Caption: "As a people, Americans, like Thai, have fought for sovereignty, personal freedoms."

Key Symbols

Red, white, and blue
Thai Constitution
U.S. Constitution

Meaning of Key Symbols: These signify patriotism; in recent years this particular group has tended to emulate U.S. manners and customs and give at least lip service to U.S. popular ideals.

*See Appeal Idea No. 265, developed for this task for use with Buddhist Monks and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Task 70

TASK 70: To create the belief among members of the group that United States troops are liberators.

Administrators

*See *Appeal Idea No. 276*, developed for this task for use with Professional Classes and judged appropriate also for Administrators, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

270. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

America helped to liberate the countries of Southeast Asia in the last war. America will liberate you from the foreign oppressor now!

Key Symbols

Liberation

271. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: An American soldier giving rice to a hungry Thai child.

Key Symbols

Rice

Hungry child

Comment: This appeal idea would have meaning only if there were an actual food shortage; otherwise, it might lower credibility of all messages.

Armed Forces (political)

272. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Thailand (*myan thaj*) must be free land (*prathêed thaj*) as it was before the occupation.

Key Symbols

myan thaj

prathêed thaj

Meaning of Key Symbols: These terms have a patriotic connotation related to Thai freedom and independence; by relating them in the appeal to the situation before the occupation, a favorable connotation would be suggested for the time when Thailand and the U.S. were allies.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would stimulate patriotism by recalling Thailand's previous state of independence.

Comment: Generally speaking, the Thai are cynical regarding a foreign nation which claims to be a liberator; therefore, an appeal for accomplishing this task would have at best limited effectiveness. Also, the usefulness of the appeal would diminish with time as the Communist propaganda machine disparaged Thailand's previous freedom and maligned U.S. friendship for Thailand.

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Central Thai

273. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

(Leaflet—to be dropped with supplies or medicines) “We are bringing aid as fast as we can drive the enemy from your borders. Take these gifts now to relieve your suffering.”
(Assumes tactical possibility of air drop.)

Key Symbols

U.S. relief, supplies

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would give them tangible evidence that the United States was truly concerned about relieving their suffering, and thus was truly a liberator.

274. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Man with chains is being released by a U.S. soldier.

Key Symbols

Chains
Freedom

Caption: “Release to Freedom.”

Meaning of Key Symbols: Chains, which are used for elephants, denote captivity to the Central Thai.

Comment: It has been suggested that an alternative caption might be “The Thai people must always be free!”

Frontier Police

275. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Carabao yoke (labeled as the enemy) pressing down on two Thai people in a rice field.

Key Symbols

Carabao yoke

Caption: “Throw off the Yoke. The USA is helping.”

Meaning of Key Symbol: Hard work is anathema.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 278*, developed for this task for use with University Students and Faculties and judged appropriate also for Frontier Police, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Professional Classes

276. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

The Americans are your liberators—remember how they expelled the Japanese from the Philippines and then withdrew themselves!

Key Symbols

Philippines

Task 70

Meaning of Key Symbol: The American record in the Philippines is well known to members of this audience.

Comment: It must be remembered that the Thai would suspect the motives of any nation which sent military forces across their borders—it would basically be only because of the atrocities of a former occupation by the foe of the United States that an atmosphere of receptivity for this appeal idea would exist.

277. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: White U.S. soldier releasing shackles binding a Thai male figure representing the person of the then-reigning King.

Caption: "The U.S. soldier brings freedom to Thailand."

Key Symbols

King
Shackles or chains
U.S. soldier

University Students and Faculties

278. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: American soldier protecting Thai child from a tiger.

Key Symbols

Thai child
Tiger

Meaning of Key Symbol: Tigers are common in Thailand and are greatly feared.

Comment: It has been suggested that a cobra or crocodile might be used alternatively, and also that the tiger might be portrayed in red and labeled as the United States enemy (and by implication the enemy of Thailand).

279. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

There are those among you who fought in Korea as comrades-in-arms with Americans—they know the intent of the United States is to liberate you.

Key Symbols

Comrades-in-arms
Korea

Meaning of Key Symbols: Thailand is now in the same position Korea was when Thai, U.S., and other U.N. troops fought together to liberate South Korea.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would help to remove any doubts about the aims of U.S. troops.

Task 70

Comment: The Thai know the intent of American troops was good in Korea, and the Thai contingents in the U.N. forces fought bravely along with their American comrades. But they also know that the Americans (or the United Nations) did not "liberate" North Korea. Therefore, this appeal should be used with appropriate caution and in context with developments current in Korea at the time of use.

Western-Educated Elite

280. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2) *Key Symbols*
Occupation has taught you the evils of oppression; the Americans will bring you the blessing of liberation. | Oppression
| Liberation

Thailand as a Whole

*See *Appeal Idea No. 273*, developed for this task for use with Central Thai and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

281. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2) *Key Symbols*
Illustration: American soldier taking off shoes entering a Buddhist temple. | U.S. respect for
| Buddhism

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind the Thai that American soldiers stationed in Thailand had always shown respect for Buddhism, and this would be contrasted to the attitude of the Communist occupiers, who, it is presumed, would show little respect for religion and would be harsh and overbearing toward the easygoing Thai.

Comment: This appeal idea could have an adverse effect if the behavior of American soldiers was known to be the opposite of that here implied.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 271*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Task 72

GOAL: COMPLIANCE AND COOPERATION

TASK 72: To get members of the group to keep away from military installations, bridges, railroads, and other military objectives.

Administrators

282. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: One panel showing people meeting death and injury near military installations, etc., contrasted with another panel showing a peaceful group in safety at a distance or in the country.

Caption: Under illustration showing danger, "antàraaj" under other illustration, "sùg."

Key Symbols

antàraaj—danger
sùg—happiness

Meaning of Key Symbols: The first means danger, peril, calamity; the second, physical joy and mental happiness.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would stress the universal human desire to avoid death or injury.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 284*, developed for this task for use with Buddhist Monks and judged appropriate also for Administrators, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Buddhist Monks

283. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Installation to be avoided.

Caption: "Avoid dangerous places lest you be caught and perish in the trap."

Key Symbols

Perish in the trap

284. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Depict heavy explosions in several small pictures: a bridge, a military dump, a train falling into river.

Caption: "Avoid such military objectives."

Key Symbols

Concept of self-preservation

Mass Media Personnel

*See *Appeal Idea No. 282*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Mass-Media Personnel, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

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Professional Classes

285. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: A bomb blowing up a bridge or other military installation.

Caption: "Stay away from bridges (or whatever installation is shown in illustration, depending on specific objective). America destroys bridges to repel the aggressor and restore your King (or religion, if King should be collaborating)."

Key Symbols

Destroying to restore
King (religion)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would cause members of the group to avoid the targets indicated, even for months, because of the group's confidence in, and knowledge of, American capabilities.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 282*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Professional Classes, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

286. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

If you stay at a distance from strategic targets, you are *khon krâphan* (invulnerable).

Key Symbols

khon krâphan—
invulnerable

Meaning of Key Symbol: It means "invulnerable" or "proof against weapons or firearms," a condition which may be brought about by magic charms—but an easier method is to keep at a distance!

Royalists

*See *Appeal Idea No. 284*, developed for this task for use with Buddhist Monks and judged appropriate also for Royalists, with a persuasiveness rating of 5.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 282*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Royalists, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Thailand as a Whole

*See *Appeal Idea No. 283*, developed for this task for use with Buddhist Monks and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

287. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

One shouldn't take needless risks; your personal security is much more valuable than anything to gain by disregarding danger. Stay away from _____.

Key Symbols

Needless risks

Comment: It must be remembered that to the extent that this appeal idea might be effective, it would have an adverse effect should the necessity arise to encourage the same Thai recipients to undertake dangerous missions to the mutual benefit of Thailand and the United States.

TASK 73: To get members of the group to evacuate strategically important towns and cities.

Administrators288. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Your children will be safe in the country: They will be in danger if you stay in _____.

Key Symbols

Children

289. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: An exploding bomb with list of towns and cities (considered by United States to be strategic).

Key Symbols

Exploding bomb
Concept of self-preservation

290. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

If you remain in this area you will be killed. (*khun cà taaj ləəj*)

Key Symbols

khun cà taaj ləəj—
you will be killed

Comment: Appeal should be used only to warn the Thai about specific danger. If used often and generally, it could either be interpreted as terrorism or lose credibility.

Armed Forces (Political)291. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Thai Commanders! Protect your men! Help their families! Lead them away from cities to be bombed, from bridges and railroads.

Key Symbols

Command responsibilities

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would place a moral responsibility on senior commanders to protect their men, and thereby make it more likely that whole units would move together. (However, if certain commanders did not respond

Task 73

to the appeal, perhaps for political reasons, the widespread distribution of the appeal would tend to sow doubt in the minds of the men under them, who would wonder why their commanders risk so much.)

292. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Thai in cities being attacked while the Chinese are comfortable and safe elsewhere.

Caption: "Don't risk danger for the benefit of the Chinese (*céy*)."

Key Symbols

céy—Chinese
(derogatory)

Chinese

*See *Appeal Idea No. 293*, developed for this task for use with University Students and Faculties and judged appropriate also for Chinese, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Officers

*See *Appeal Idea No. 292*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Officers, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

University Students and Faculties

293. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

It is foolish to swim in a pool of crocodiles—it is just as foolish to stay in a strategic military area.

Key Symbols

Crocodile

*See *Appeal Idea No. 292*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for University Students and Faculties, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Thailand as a Whole

*See *Appeal Idea No. 289*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 293*, developed for this task for use with University Students and Faculties and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

GOAL: HOSTILITY AND NONCOOPERATION

TASK 74: To promote among members of the group feelings of resentment toward the enemy.

Administrators294. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

The Chinese are present in vast numbers and will try to remain, making Thailand a mere extension of Communist China, with the Chinese community in Thailand dominating the Thai people.

Key Symbols

Chinese

Comment: Differential Effect—This appeal idea would have an adverse effect with regard to the Chinese in Thailand—even those who might not be committed to the Communist cause.

295. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)*Key Symbols*

Illustration: A Chinese-costumed figure with an evil-appearing face.

Evil Chinese

Comment: It has been suggested that a variant of this appeal idea might depict a Chinese taking or pulling a child by the tuft of hairs left on the top of his head (that left after the traditional haircutting ceremony), or a Chinese cutting hairs, or a Chinese selling statuettes of the Buddha.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 296*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Administrators, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 298*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Administrators, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Armed Forces (Political)296. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)*Key Symbols*

Illustration: A soldier carrying a flag against a map background.
Caption: "Awake, Thailand!"

"Awake, Thailand!"

Meaning of Key Symbol: This is the title of an anti-Chinese book by King Vajiravudh and has been used often on posters and elsewhere as a slogan.

Task 74

297. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The Thai man works; the Chinese man takes the money. (*kohn thaj tham gaan; khon ciin aw gan*)

Key Symbols

kohn thaj tham gaan;
khon ciin aw gan

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to evoke racial conflict between the Chinese, both Sino-Thai and occupying Chinese, and this special audience, which is one of the most chauvinistic in Thailand and also the one in the best position to attack the Chinese, either individually or in groups.

298. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The damn (*daj*) Chinese (*cég*) are running Thailand!

Key Symbols

daj cég—damn Chinese

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind the members of this group that they are under Chinese control and would therefore intensify the existing prejudice against the Chinese.

Central Thai

299. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Enemy soldier hitting a woman with a rifle butt.
Caption: "Hurting a Girl—Cruelty."

Key Symbols

Communist cruelty

Comment: It has been suggested that the girl in the illustration might be one of the girls from the dramatic school in Bangkok (favored national dancers). It has also been suggested that an alternative caption might be, "The Chinese are by nature cruel!"

*See *Appeal Idea No. 294*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Central Thai, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Frontier Police

300. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Enemy taking away gold and silver belts, which the women get as their savings. (Since there is a distrust of banks, the lower class Thai buy links to belts each payday. The rich buy jewels and land.)
Caption: "They are taking these—hide yours."

Key Symbols

Gold and silver link belts

Task 74

Meaning of Key Symbol: The gold or silver link belt is very important; it constitutes their life savings and dowry. Stealing this destroys their hope of the future.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 294*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Frontier Police, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Mass-Media Personnel

*See *Appeal Idea No. 312*, developed for Task 76 for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Mass-Media Personnel, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

301. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

"Your Peiping (Peking) masters control the Thai press: the dragon breathing fire burns your freedom."

Peiping masters
Dragon breathing fire

Meaning of Key Symbols: Dragon represents something that is foreign, menacing, and would be understood as a symbol of aggressive Chinese (*khon-cün*).

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Any attempt by the Chinese occupiers to dictate to the Thai press, no matter how persuasive, would stir up the underlying hatred that mass-media personnel have for the aggressive Chinese.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 294*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Mass-Media Personnel, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Officers

*See *Appeal Idea No. 296*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political), and judged appropriate also for Officers, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

University Students and Faculties

302. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Will the Chinese Communists drive you out of Thailand as Genghis Khan drove the Thai out of China? Do not let the enemy drive you from your homeland again.

Pride in homeland
Genghis Khan
Red Chinese

Task 75

TASK 75: To get members of the group to oppose portions of enemy ideology by making them aware of certain traditional values which are contradictory to the enemy ideology.

Buddhist Monks

303. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Two panels:

1. Miracle of the Mango Tree (Buddha growing Mango Tree from seed).
2. Withered flowers that respond to call, "Let a hundred flowers bloom."

Caption: "The Buddha's way, not the way of the enemy materialists."

Key Symbols

Buddha's way

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: By using episodes from Buddha's life, it would vividly point up the fallacies of the Communist way of life.

Comment: The effectiveness of this appeal idea would probably be limited in the first instance to those few sophisticated monks who would be familiar with Mao's "Hundred Flowers" campaign—but those who do understand would probably be the opinion-setters.

304. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Two panels:

1. Dharma Wheel.
2. Wheels of war (e.g., cannon) marked with enemy symbols.

Caption: "Which wheel?"

Key Symbols

Dharma wheel

Cannon wheel

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would emphasize the discrepancy of Buddha's way and that of the foe.

Central Thai

305. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

If possible by radio beamed from outside, early in the morning, remind people that this is the hour at which they should be giving food to the priests and making merit; instead the priests do not come, the people have barely enough rice for themselves, they are failing to make merit. The night before Buddhist holidays put up posters reminding people that they should be going to the temple but that now they are forbidden to do so.

(Assumes acute restriction of religious observances by the occupier.)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would arouse anger toward the occupier because of frustration at not being able to practice their religion, a value of supreme importance to the individual.

Key Symbols

Religious freedom

306. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Communist suppression of the royalty (if the king has been executed or imprisoned). Publish and circulate books and pamphlets on the royal family and past great kings of Siam. (Assumes suppression of the monarchy by the occupier.)

Key Symbols

King

Meaning of Key Symbol: The kingship is respected and there exists a traditional (if somewhat token) loyalty to the royal house among members of this audience.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would arouse opposition to the policies of the occupiers because of the suppression of royalty.

Comment: It has been suggested that only the names of those kings who are truly considered heroic be used for this appeal idea. Some of the past kings are accorded token respect only because they were kings; they have been ridiculed as individuals.

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Task 75

307. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Buddhist monk arrested by the enemy.

Caption: "Destroying Religion."

Key Symbols

Suppression of
Buddhism

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would arouse opposition to the occupiers, since religious sentiment is very dear to this audience and an essential part of the life of its members.

Comment: It has been suggested that the priest portrayed might be an abbot (with his ceremonial fan), and that the wheel of law be included in the illustration. A variant might show the main Buddhist hall of justice, in Bangkok, padlocked.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 310*, developed for this task for use with Professional Classes and judged appropriate also for Central Thai, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Chinese

308. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Communism is the enemy of Chinese civilization. What will become of your family under a rule which is planning to destroy it?

Key Symbols

Chinese civilization
Family

Meaning of Key Symbols: Overseas Chinese are devoted to tradition and their concept of Chinese civilization, and family ties are extremely strong.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: If and when the Chinese occupiers make an open move to alter family relationships, this appeal would tend to promote open opposition to the occupiers and their ideology.

309. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Overseas Chinese business activities are compatible with U.S. capitalistic business practices and incompatible with Communist ideology and practice in China.

Key Symbols

Capitalism vs. Com-
munism

Meaning of Key Symbol: Overseas Chinese are deeply committed to capitalistic business practices and fear expropriation if Communism spreads.

Comment: This appeal idea should be effective if it is demonstrably true; the Chinese merchants will know if such is the case.

Professional Classes

310. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: The Wheel of Law crossed by a hand in blessing above a portrait of the King.

Caption: "You cannot serve an alien master and remain loyal to Buddha and the King."

Key Symbols

Wheel of Law

King

Homage to Buddha

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would awaken members of the audience to the fact that they cannot remain loyal to Buddha and still support the Communists. In the appeal, loyalty to Buddha and to the King are equated.

Thailand as a Whole

*See *Appeal Idea No. 166*, developed for Task 44 for use with University Students and Faculties and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

311. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A Chinese Communist symbol.

Caption: "Think well upon these new ideas; if you make a mistake in the selection of a site for your dwelling you will think of it until the house falls."

Key Symbols

Paraphrase of Thai proverb:

"*mii mia phid kid
con tua taaj
phung ryan phid
kid con ryan
thalaaj*"

"Having a wrong wife will make you think before you die, having built a house improperly will make you feel unhappy until the house is worn out."

Task 76

TASK 76: To promote among members of the group a disbelief in the ideology and war aims of the enemy.

Armed Forces (Political)

312. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: A hungry child with an empty rice bowl.

Caption: "Communism means taking our rice."

(Appeal could best be used if there were widespread rice shortage or famine in the country. If Chinese were taking Thai rice, it would be even more effective.)

Key Symbols

Empty rice bowl
Hungry child

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke recognition that Communism had not brought the promised blessing and gains, and sharpen their awareness that things were better before the Communists came.

313. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Communism aims at the destruction of peace, religion.

Key Symbols

Destruction of peace,
religion

Comment: *Situational Effect*—It has been pointed out that in recent years the Thai have been given heavy doses of anti-Communist propaganda in terms similar to this appeal idea. If overdone, this can become tiresome; and the Thai, who are not fond of persistent hard ideological thinking, may develop a resistance to it. This would be particularly true if the Chinese occupiers had not, in fact, disturbed the religion or the monks (which they probably would not have done during the early stages of an occupation).

Enlisted Men

*See *Appeal Idea No. 312*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Enlisted Men for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Professional Classes

*See *Appeal Idea No. 312*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Professional Classes, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Royalists

314. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

The real aim of the enemy is to concentrate all power in the hands of the smallest, least educated, most ruthless governing group ever known to man.

Key Symbols

Concept of class distinctions (least educated group)

Meaning of Key Symbol: The royalist class takes great pride in the high level of education of its members.

315. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Depict the slave-labor camps usual in a Communist country.

Key Symbols

Enslavement

Caption: "The Enemy Promises Well and Behaves Badly."

Comment: It has been suggested that this appeal idea might be more effective if the names of some former leaders of occupied countries who have been sent to slave labor camps could be mentioned.

University Students and Faculties

316. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Ask the people of Red China or North Viet Nam about the contrast between Communist promises and Communist actions.

Key Symbols

Communist "promises"

317. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Dragon erecting a sign-board bearing unintelligible script labeled "War Aims."

Key Symbols

Dragon
Communist "war aims"

Caption: "All lies."

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would strengthen the already widespread suspicion of upper-class Thai concerning the ultimate intentions of Communist China.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 313*, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for University Students and Faculties, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Task 76, 77

Thailand as a Whole

*See *Appeal Idea No. 137*, developed for Task 39 for use with University Students and Faculties and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 315*, developed for this task for use with Royalists, and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

TASK 77: To encourage members of the group to deny manpower and food to the enemies of the United States.

Administrators

318. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Figure with a nasty, leering Chinese face and dressed in Chinese costume.

Caption: "Turn against the Chinese."

Key Symbols

Turn against the Chinese

Comment: It should be made clear that the appeal refers only to the Red Chinese and not the Chinese in general: that is, it should be directed against the destroyers or defilers of religion and culture and not so much against a race.

Central Thai

319. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Stories from *khun cháay* and *khun phǎn* will recall that the Thai people can outwit their enemy oppressors who demand food and manpower—pretend to comply if you have to, but give them nothing of value.

Key Symbols

khun cháay and *khun phǎn*—heroes of ancient tales

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would awaken concern about the well-being of the family and increase the determination of the group to resist or outwit the occupiers of their land.

320. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration of man (in medieval costume) striking huge bronze gong (six feet or more in diameter) or striking a huge drum.

Caption: "Heed the hour—Strike for Liberty" (Thai version).

Key Symbols

Drum striker

Meaning of Key Symbol: In ancient days, the gong or drum was struck for the hour—a means of telling time. Certain temples

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now have huge gongs to be struck by pilgrims and other worshipers (evidently to attract Heaven's attention). Gongs are also used to accompany the all-night chanting on the four nights of the four quarters of the moon.

Chinese

321. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

The Communist enemy needs your help, your food, and your labor. He may pay for it in paper *baad*, but you will lose it all.

Key Symbols

Paper *baad* (unit of currency)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind the Chinese businessmen of the sharp drop in value of Thailand's currency as a consequence of the Japanese occupation; as they are hard-headed businessmen, it would tend to deter them from becoming deeply involved, for short-term gain, with supplying the occupying forces.

Frontier Police

322. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Sacks or baskets of rice.
Caption: "The Chinese are denying you this food to give to your enemy."

Key Symbols

Rice

Comment: Suggested variations to the appeal idea include showing Thai being forced by Chinese soldiers to load rice onto a ship bound for China with the caption, "Keep Thai rice for Thai people" or (if there were widespread food shortages) a picture of a hungry Thai child included in the illustration with the "balloon" quotation, "Save some for me" or simply "I haven't any rice (*maej mui khaw*). In any case, the appeal would have to be used with caution if the Chinese community in Thailand were not intended to be offended also.

University Students and Faculties

323. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

You can fight the enemy without a gun—hide your men and food from him.

Key Symbols

Fight the enemy without a gun

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would imply for the pro-U.S. element, that friendship for the U.S. cause could be proved by acts that are not very dangerous to the one doing them.

Task 77

324. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Don't give support and assistance to the enemies of culture, progress, and civilization.

Culture

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would reinforce this group's latent association of the term "culture" with the West and the term "uncouth" with the Chinese.

Comment: This group would be among the more sensitive to this association; it must be remembered, however, that at certain stages of any military action, survival could be a more important consideration than saving civilization.

Western-Educated Elite

325. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Picture of Thai house cut down center (artist's conception), showing wife at front door denying enemy soldier food; back room reasonably well stocked with rice, and on wall this very same poster we are considering here.

Help a returning son or husband

Caption: "Food denied the enemy today will help a returning son and husband tomorrow."

Comment: *Situational Effect*—This appeal idea could have adverse effects if the Thai, having complied in the first instance, were to suffer reprisals. Such a development might then be blamed upon the Americans who had encouraged them to behave in a "provocative" manner. It should also be noted that rice is commonly stored in rat-proof granaries (on stilts) in the compounds of the house—it would be easy enough to verify the amount of grain in the householder's possession unless a new system were devised.

326. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

There is no bottom to the stomach of a dragon, but you can trick him by giving him spoiled or ruined rice (and still collect payment).

Chinese dragon

Meaning of Key Symbol: It is a well-known representation for a conquering China.

Task 77, 78

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would increase the deep-seated hatred of the Thai toward the more aggressive Chinese and point out how the Thai aptitude for trickery can be successfully used against those they hate.

Comment: It has been suggested that this appeal idea could be used with many humorous variations. However, it has also been pointed out that if reprisals were to result from deliveries of spoiled rice, the Americans could be blamed.

Thailand as a Whole

*See *Appeal Idea No. 325*, developed for this task for use with Western-Educated Elite and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 78: To discourage members of the group from collaborating with the enemy.

Administrators

327. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Thai, unarmed, holding out hand to tiger ready to bite or tear.
Caption: "rdwag khrdng." Do not collaborate with your enemy.

Key Symbols

khrdng

Meaning of Key Symbol: The ordinary word for tiger is *sya*; but *khrdng* is an especially large tiger, dangerous and to be feared.

Buddhist Monks

328. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Picture of a furious elephant (labeled "the occupying forces") with people fleeing.

Caption: "Get out of his way."

Key Symbols

Paraphrase of Thai proverb:

"chdaŋ lăj l ɛn
lūg lōb"

"Get out of the way when you are chased by an elephant."

Comment: It has been suggested that the use of some wild beast other than the elephant be depicted as on a rampage under same circumstances since the use of the elephant may compliment the enemy's strength. It has also been suggested that if the enemy military action is one of cool, calculated maneuvering (as contrasted to brutal frontal attack), the use of a serpent in the appeal might be more appropriate.

Task 78, 79

Professional Classes

329. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Picture with two panels:

First panel: Communist soldier talking to child.

Caption: "Communists seek cooperation."

Second panel: Soldiers shooting child's father.

Caption: "To destroy those you love (*rág*)."

(Assumes harsh occupation by enemy.)

Key Symbols

rág (love)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind them that the Communists will betray them and the ones they love even though they collaborate. Since the word *rág* is also used between men friends, nations, and peoples, certainly much more freely than the English equivalent, the appeal would indicate that harm from the Communists could come to many besides the immediate family.

Thailand as a Whole

*See Appeal Idea No. 328, developed for this task for use with Buddhist Monks and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

330. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Thai sovereignty somehow will always emerge; there is no need to engage in subservient collaboration.

Key Symbols

No need for subservient collaboration

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind the Thai that Thailand has always maintained its sovereignty, that therefore the occupation is temporary (as was the Japanese occupation of World War II), and that they need not give more than lip service to the occupying forces.

TASK 79: To show the allies or satellites of the enemy that they will be welcome to the U.S. side if they dissociate themselves from the enemy.

Royalists

331. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Depict royalists being welcomed by the U.S. military and being provided arms to fight the common foe.

Key Symbols

Friendliness
Military support

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would encourage many royalists to defect from the enforced support of the occupiers.

Comment: It has been suggested that under certain circumstances (such as an apparently benign occupation), it might be better to depict the Americans offering a desk and respectable position such as adviser—thus holding out concrete reward.

University Students and Faculties

332. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

America has always welcomed the help of freedom-loving Thai in the fight for freedom.

Key Symbols

Help in fight for
freedom

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind them of the friendly attitude of the United States toward Thailand during and after World War II, in part as a consequence of Thai cooperation.

GOAL: SUBVERSION

TASK 80: To get members of the group to stage slowdowns and delays.

Enlisted Men

333. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Thai military men (*thahuan*), don't overwork yourselves for the Chinese.

Key Symbols

Don't overwork
yourselves

TASK 81: To get members of the group to malingering and practice absenteeism.

Administrators

334. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Picture of administrator hard at work in office, while wall calendar plainly displays the lunar New Year date traditionally associated with a week-long holiday.

Key Symbols

Traditional holidays

Caption: "Happy New Year"
(*khraam sug pi may*)

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Task 81, 82, 83

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would arouse resentment among the Thai, who are not the most energetic people in the world, because of the loss of their traditional holidays. It is based on the old expression: The Thai play at work and work at play.

335. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A figure with domineering Chinese face, with some sort of Communist insignia, but dressed as a Thai.

Caption: "Why serve him?"

Key Symbols

Domineering Chinese

Armed Forces (Political)

*See *Appeal Idea No. 334*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Armed Forces (Political), with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 211*, developed for Task 53 for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Armed Forces (Political) for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 82: To get members of the group to strike.

University Students and Faculties

336. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Students and teachers—you can harm the enemy most by leaving schools, which are preparing you to serve the purpose of the Chinese.

Key Symbols

Harm the enemy

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would be mainly effective among members of the audience already friendly to the United States. It is only partly based on friendship; it is also phrased to frighten members of the audience.

TASK 83: To get members of the group to commit sabotage and support other forms of active resistance.

Armed Forces (Political)

337. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Thai rice, Thai machines, and Thai weapons must never be used to enslave the Thai.

Key Symbols

Enslave the Thai

Task 83

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would imply, indirectly, that the group must take some kind of action if they are to prevent the Communists from using their resources. (A direct overt appeal to commit sabotage might be counterproductive by stimulating greater precautions by the occupying forces, and might also tend to compromise and endanger those Thai friendly to the U.S. side.)

Central Thai

338. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Man carrying away enemy's guns, while enemy is sleeping.

Help destroy the enemy!

Caption: "Help Destroy the Enemy."

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would indicate useful but simple tasks, such as stealing the guns of the occupying forces, which are appropriate for the Central Thai, who are more suited to resisting by stealth than by active fighting and open resistance.

Comment: An alternative caption, "Why not pull his teeth?" has been suggested as a variant.

Professional Classes

339. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Communist soldier breaking a Buddha, with a young Thai attacking the soldier with a dagger from the rear.

Destruction of Buddha image

Caption: "Resist the invaders!"

(This task could be achieved *only* if the occupying forces were behaving with undisguised cruelty, violating the civilian population, and actually attacking religious institutions.)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would justify a resort to retaliatory action against the occupying forces, even to the extent of violence, which normally is not condoned.

Task 83

Royalists

340. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Depict a governing cabinet meeting with only three or four minor members who are Thai, the remainder in power positions being Chinese.

Caption: "If the enemy wins, Thailand will become a Chinese province."

Comment: The context of the entire message should be such as to suggest the desired action.

Key Symbols

Chinese in cabinet

University Students and Faculties

341. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

You have driven the enemy out of your country before by sabotage and guerilla activity—you can do it again.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would create a desire to emulate national heroes of history and myth who have successfully opposed would-be conquerors.

Key Symbols

National pride

342. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

"The cunning Thai has always succeeded in contending with the Chinese."

Meaning of Key Symbol: Thai take great pride in being more cunning than their opponents.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would stimulate them to try to confound the Chinese by trickery, as a matter of national pride.

Key Symbols

Cunningness

343. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Enemy military installation bearing the label, "Enemy Invader." At one corner a Thai figure sets fire to explosive or combustible materials.

Caption: "Your cleverness will drive him out."

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would stimulate the Thai, but especially the students, to use subterfuge and cleverness in opposing the occupiers of their country.

Key Symbols

Cleverness, cunningness

Western-Educated Elite

*See *Appeal Idea No. 343*, developed for this task for use with University Students and Faculties and judged appropriate also for Western-Educated Elite, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

344. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Sleeping figure in enemy uniform.

Strike while they sleep

Captain: "Strike While They Sleep."

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would suggest how a weak force might overcome a more powerful force by stealth and strategy, two qualities on which the Thai pride themselves.

Thailand as a Whole

345. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Leave your "eat friends" (*phyán kin*). Join your "die friends" (*phyán taaj*).

phyán kin—eat friends
phyán taaj—die friends

Meaning of Key Symbols: These represent a concept known to every Thai; the Thai say it is easy to find friends who will eat with you but hard to find those who will die with you.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would create a positive attitude toward the U.S. cause, but one which varies according to the use made of it. Some suggestions as to uses are: (1) Americans are the "die friends" who have done much for Thailand in building schools, hospitals, roads, dams, etc.; the Chinese are the "eat friends" who only take food from Thailand and give nothing in return. (2) A play on the phrase would be possible by saying the "eat friends" do not even provide food. (3) The Thai could be invited, indirectly, to decide whether they were going to be "die friends" with their former American allies.

TASK 84: To get members of the group to organize or support resistance movements in areas occupied by the enemy.

Professional Classes

*See *Appeal Idea No. 343*, developed for Task 83 for use with University Students and Faculties and judged appropriate also for Professional Classes for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Task 84

Royalists

346. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Depict the famous King *phrā cāw krus thonbūrit* (*cāw tāg*) collecting a small force in a village to begin liberating the nation from the Burmese.

Caption: "The Thai King, *cāw tāg*, liberated the nation; let not his memory live in vain."

Key Symbols

King Chao Dak
(*cāw tāg*)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would stimulate the royalists to follow the example of the King.

Comment: In general, the royalists would respond to appeals which utilize traditional heroes, especially one that was himself royal. However, this particular king was deposed by Rama I, the founder of the present dynasty. It might be better, therefore, to couple the name Rama I with *cāw tāg* in this appeal idea, depending upon the context of the total message and the particular conditions (or particular group of recipients).

347. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Help the sons of *tāagsin* and Rama I. | *tāagsin* and Rama I

Meaning of Key Symbols: Thai kings who led the revolt against the Burmese invaders and established the Bangkok Era.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would arouse national pride and sympathy for those who were currently risking all against the occupier, and would induce some members of the group to support the resistance movements more actively.

*See Appeal Idea No. 350, developed for Task 85 for use with Royalists and judged appropriate also for Royalists for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Western-Educated Elite

348. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Revive the record of Free Thai (*sēerī-ūthaj*) organization in World War II, when guerrilla troops crippled Japanese forces (115,000 troops) in Siam.

sēerīūthaj (Free Thai
organization against
Japanese)

Probable Reaction to Appeal: It would remind them of the action in May 1945, when the Free Thai leader, Pridi Phanomyong unleashed his guerrillas on the Japanese, and suggests a similar action to meet the current situation.

Task 84, 85

Comment: *Situational Effect*—If the former leader of the Free Thai, Pridi, is still in China, and especially if he has gone on record as favoring the Chinese cause, this appeal could have an adverse effect. However, the Thai do differentiate between the two Free Thai movements led by Pridi by calling the anti-Japanese organization, *sérri* (free) *thaj*, and the Yunnan-based movement, Thai Issara (independent).

TASK 85: To get members of the group to revolt or to attempt secession.

Administrators

349. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Map showing other Southeast Asian countries formerly held by the British, French, and Dutch, perhaps in various colors, and Thailand, only, left white.

Caption: "In all history, Thailand has never been subservient (*khÿn kÿÿ*) to anybody."

Key Symbols

khÿn kÿÿ—subservient

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would play on their pride in their historical past and move them toward more active resistance.

Comment: It should be used cautiously if the United States is allied with the former colonial powers identified in the appeal. The Thai, though never colonized, are sympathetic toward their neighbors who were.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 335*, developed for Task 81 for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Administrators for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Armed Forces (Political)

*See *Appeal Idea No. 337*, developed for Task 83 for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Armed Forces (Political) for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Royalists

350. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

The King's realm must be reconquered as *tàagsin* reconquered our land from the old invader.

Key Symbols

tàagsin

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Task 85

Meaning of Key Symbol: *tàagsin* is well known in Thailand as the general who about 1767, starting with only 500 men, succeeded in driving out the Burmese and liberating the country.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would suggest the idea of revolt in a noble context, by calling to mind Thailand's traditional freedom and the manner in which it was once before regained when threatened.

Western-Educated Elite

351. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Figure of Garuda (half man—half bird).

Caption: "Land of the Free. Free! Free! Free!" (Thai version).

Key Symbols

Garuda—Figure of mythology
Free! Free! Free!

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Garuda is a stylized design of a mythological bird which in Thailand is generally understood to symbolize Thailand as a free nation. Thai liberals today use the cheer "Thai! Thai! Thai!" instead of the traditional *chaj joo* or "Victory."

Comment: "Thai! Thai! Thai!" may have anti-royalist connotation.

352. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

"We are ready to help you liberate Thailand. Strike now from within and we shall enter Thailand to join with you."

(Assumes stage of war when Western victory is possible and where *sēeriithaj* strongly organized.)

Key Symbols

sēeriithaj—free Thai

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to arouse the deep, inherent Thai love of independence and sovereignty.

PROJECTED GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION

The special audience resides in a country allied with the United States.

GOAL: GOOD WILL TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

TASK 88: To convince members of the group that the United States will not interfere in the internal affairs of their country.

Royalists

353. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Depict the King distributing yellow robes to the monks while American officials honor the ceremony with their presence.

Caption: "Americans respect Thai customs."

Key Symbols

King distributing robes to the monks

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: By showing American respect for Thai culture, it would tend to allay any doubts concerning the sincerity of the United States.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The distribution of robes to the monks is a customary part of the annual *kathin* ceremonies, the King's Birthday, or a royal wedding or cremation service. As allies, the Americans would probably be present upon such an occasion as official guests. The distribution of robes is an act to "make merit" and can be a part of any important service. It is done by the King or by the lowly; and it is not restricted to the Thai or even to Buddhists.

TASK 89: To promote among members of the group the feeling that the war contributions and achievements of their country are appreciated.

Armed Forces (Political)

354. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

A drawing showing in color the flags of all the allies with the Thai flag and the U.S. flag in the center; all the flags held by individuals of their respective countries.

Caption: "The Allies."

Key Symbols

Flags

Task 89

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would flatter their national pride by putting Thailand on the same footing as the major powers and tend to counter the Communist arguments that the great Western powers have kept Thailand from being a "great power."

355. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Thai and American soldier repelling enemy aggressors.

Caption: "Our victories come through joint efforts."

(Assumes that Thai forces have made a creditable showing in some actual military engagements.)

Key Symbols

Comrades in arms

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would assuage a latent feeling of inferiority with regard to Thai military prowess and result in a feeling of gratitude among the members of the audience.

Professional Classes

356. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Thai ancestors were bold and steadfast in their determination to secure the Thai territory for their descendants. They fought and sacrificed even their own lives just to preserve it for us. Rise, Thai Brethren! Waste not your lives. The love for the nation should surpass selves as was exhibited by the ancestors.

(This is a literal translation of the chorus of the popular song "Thai Ancestors.")

Americans also have fought and sacrificed to preserve the United States.

Both U.S. citizens and the Thai are contributing to the freedom of future generations.

Key Symbols

Song—"Thai Ancestors"

Task 89

Comment: The Thai words, the translation, and the musical score of this well-known and popular song can be found in *Thailand Illustrated*, issue of September 1954.

357. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: American and Thai, equal in height, cooperating in some task.

Caption: "Friends."

Key Symbols

Friendship

Western-Educated Elite

358. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Thai sitting on board of world architects of peace.

Caption: "Thailand is a full partner in international planning."

Key Symbols

National pride

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would show the willingness of the United States to give Thailand a voice in international affairs, thus flattering Thailand's deep desire to be accepted internationally. Thailand has been very proud of Prince Wan's career in world diplomacy.

Thailand as a Whole

359. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Thai soldier using modern and clearly identifiable American military equipment.

Caption: "The Thai soldier is capable and well equipped."

Key Symbols

Thai soldier

U.S. equipment

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The fact that the soldier is entrusted with the latest U.S. equipment (American manufactures are prized in Thailand) would enhance his pride in himself and tend to evoke a feeling of solidarity and oneness with the U.S. armed forces.

Comment: It has been suggested that an American soldier be included somewhere in the illustration to avoid the danger that the Thai would interpret it to mean that the Thai was fighting as the tool of the Americans (i.e., the philosophy of "let Asians fight Asians").

Task 90

TASK 90: To justify to members of the group the use of new or extraordinary weapons.

Armed Forces (Political)

360. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Two illustrations:

One showing Chinese soldier bayoneting a Thai woman.

Second showing group of Chinese soldiers being destroyed by small atomic weapon.

Caption: "Those who attack will be destroyed."

Key Symbols

Chinese brutality

Violence avenged

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Because of the ethnic antagonism existing between the Thai and the Chinese, this appeal would evoke anger at seeing a Thai brutally attacked and pleasure at knowing the attackers would be destroyed, no matter by what means.

University Students and Faculties

361. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Science faculty members and students consulting files of U.S. Atomic Energy Commission materials in the Department of Science Library.

Caption: "Americans and Thai share atomic knowledge."

Key Symbols

National pride

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: The fact that the United States trusts the Thai sufficiently to share atomic knowledge with them would tend to gain acceptance among this group of the use of that power for a common cause.

362. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Dragon, labeled "The enemy," writhing, recoiling, or exploding in bits as "new" weapon is symbolically represented in use against the dragon.

Caption: "Only (suitable name identifying the new weapon(s) involved) will win."

(The "new or extraordinary weapons" must be perceivable by this group as crucial to victory.)

Key Symbols

Dragon (China)

Victory

Task 90, 91, 92

Comment: The qualifying word "only" should be emphasized in any message constructed from this appeal idea.

GOAL: ENCOURAGEMENT

TASK 91: To make the members of the group feel hopeful about the future position of their country in the postwar world.

Thailand as a Whole

363. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Thailand has been the land of the free for almost 700 years and the Thai have survived as a "free" people through many national tragedies. "Thailand" means "The Land of the Free."

Freedom

Comment: The "national tragedy" idea should be played down as the Thai know they have had few national tragedies and attribute this to the Buddhist "merit" of the Thai people.

364. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Restore the "Golden Peninsula." A new era lies ahead; with happiness for everyone and freedom for all. Have hope for good life, well-being, and abundance.

Golden Peninsula

TASK 92: To promote among members of the group an expectation of victory for the United States and its allies.

Chinese

365. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

"The United States has great military strength and resources."

U.S. strength

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would, when supported by a good showing of U.S. military strength and a factual account of U.S. resources, carry conviction, as the Thai are already predisposed to this belief in U.S. power.

Comment: This appeal idea would be accepted at face value at a time when the Americans might be demonstrating actual military superiority—but at a time of temporary set-backs, it would be well to emphasize the potential military strength flowing from industrial superiority.

Task 92

Royalists

366. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

America and her Allies have always won in war.

Key Symbols

America (has) always won

Comment: This appeal idea should be used with caution. The royalists would not disagree that America has always emerged victorious; but they could recall that some allies of even victorious powers can be and have been overrun and devastated before ultimate victory is achieved.

367. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Depict Thai King and President of the United States inspecting modern weapons display.

Key Symbols

Victory
Concept of co-operation

Caption: "Planning together for victory."

368. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

"Together the Thai and Americans will win."

Key Symbols

Concept of mutual support

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would suggest that Thai assistance to the U.S. is as important as the reverse, thus giving the Thai a sense of participation which, in turn, gives them confidence.

Thailand as a Whole

369. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

See the captive enemy POW's, the captured enemy supplies. U.S. and Thai victory is not grandiose statement but true fact.

Key Symbols

Enemy POW's
Captured enemy materials

(Appeal must be substantiated by accurate tangible evidence.)

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Any tangible evidence of U.S. victories would increase the Thai's will to cooperate and fight; the Thai are conditioned to be suspicious of official pronouncements so only tangible evidence will influence them.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 366*, developed for this task for use with Royalists and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 368*, developed for this task for use with Royalists and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Task 93

GOAL: COMPLIANCE AND CORPORATION

TASK 93: To get members of the group to cooperate with the United States.

Armed Forces (Political)

370. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Thai and American officers, arm in arm.

Caption: "Together again with our comrades-in-arms of Korean days."

Key Symbols

Comrades-in-arms
Korea

Meaning of Key Symbols: Korea is a moderately important symbol of American-Thai cooperation, appreciated more by the military than the civilian Thai.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would serve to remind them of the competent leadership they received when working alongside American forces—a leadership which helped them, during the Korean Operation, to realize their true potential as military men.

*See Appeal Idea No. 374, developed for this task for use with Professional Classes and judged appropriate also for Armed Forces (Political), with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Central Thai

371. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Thai ways are respected by Americans. Thai and Americans are equal partners. They plan and work together.

Key Symbols

Equal partners

372. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Two men (U.S. and Thai) shaking hands.

Caption: "Old Friends."

Key Symbols

Shaking hands

Meaning of Key Symbol: When Thai greet Westerners they use the handshake, rather than the *wai*.

Professional Classes

373. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The U.S. is *kunlāmid* (ally).

Key Symbols

kunlāmid—ally

Meaning of Key Symbol: A concept going back to feudal times which means a family friend, ally, or confederate.

Comment: A suggested variation is, "The Thai and the United States are *kunlāmid*."

Task 93

374. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Two pictures:

Background: Thai and American engineers or technicians working together on a dam or malaria control project.

Foreground: Thai and American soldier using military equipment or marching.

Caption: "Together in peace. Together in war."

Key Symbols

Mutual cooperation

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to evoke cooperation from members of this group, who have prided themselves on their ability to learn from the West.

Royalists

375. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

To help America is to help your King, your country, and yourself.

Key Symbols

King, country, self

376. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

True friends through history help each other; Thai and Americans have been friends for centuries.

Key Symbols

True friends

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would present America in a favorable light by associating it with Thai history. (For a similar but more detailed theme, see *Appeal Idea No. 90.*)

Thailand as a Whole

*See *Appeal Idea No. 375*, developed for this task for use with Royalists and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 374*, developed for this task for use with Professional Classes and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 376*, developed for this task for use with Royalists and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

GOAL: HOSTILITY

TASK 94: To promote among members of the group a disbelief in the ideology and war aims of the enemy government.

Chinese

*See *Appeal Idea No. 309*, developed for Task 75 for use with Chinese and judged appropriate also for Chinese for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 95: To arouse among members of the group hostility toward the common enemy and its leaders.

Administrators

377. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Thai map—with red hands grabbing the country.
Caption: "Enemy is grabbing Thailand. Protect the country."

Key Symbols

Protect homeland

Comment: *Situational Effect*—If the military situation has deteriorated for Thailand and things would appear hopeless, use of this appeal idea might induce further fear and a desire to accommodate the enemy.

Royalists

378. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: A Red Chinese dragon (with North Korea, Tibet, and North Viet Nam in its belly) attacking a Thai.

Key Symbols

Chinese dragon

Caption: "The Chinese dragon has always sought to gobble up Asia."

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind them that China has sought to establish control over her neighbors, and arouse fears of current Chinese policies as but a continuation of this desire to expand.

Comment: It should be so depicted as not to encourage the Thai to placate a dragon so dangerous they cannot cope with it.

379. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Depict the enemy evicting the King from the Royal Palace, which is to be turned into an apartment development.

Key Symbols

Eviction of King

Caption: "The enemy creates its kind of 'democracy'."

Task 95

University Students and Faculties

380. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Crossed flags of U.S. and Thailand being shredded by claws of firebreathing dragon labeled "Dictatorship."

Caption: "Fight the Chinese dictatorship."

(Most effective if invasion seems imminent.)

Key Symbols:

Crossed flags
Chinese dragon
Dictatorship

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: By emphasizing the purpose of Communist China, the establishment of a dictatorship, it would tend to persuade Thailand to draw closer to the United States. Dictatorship is a most strongly disliked political concept among members of this group.

Comment: It has been suggested that a tiger or a crocodile (used in Thai literature as beasts to be feared) might be substituted or used as a variant symbol for this appeal idea.

Thailand as a Whole

*See *Appeal Idea No. 578*, developed for this task for use with Royalists and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 377*, developed for this task for use with Administrators and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

PROJECTED GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION

The special audience resides in a country which is neutral.

GOAL: GOOD WILL TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

TASK 96: To promote among members of the group feelings of friendship and good will toward the United States and its allies.

Professional Classes

381. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Recall the long tradition and history of friendship between Thai and Americans.

Key Symbols

Traditional friendship

382. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

American affection for Thailand has been repeatedly shown through American religious and governmental assistance in providing schools, hospitals, and economic aid to Thailand. America was responsible for ending extraterritoriality in Thailand after World War I, for lenient treatment and admission to the U.N. after World War II. America would like once again to be the friend of Thailand after present hostilities cease.

Key Symbols

Traditional friendship
U.S. aid

Comment: This appeal must be developed very subtly. It would stimulate the Thai desire to return good for good, provided the approach is not too obvious, in which case, by asking for gratitude, the United States would lose any right it may have had to it, according to Thai mores.

TASK 97: To identify and strengthen among members of the group those ideals and values held in common by the neutral country and the United States.

Frontier Police

383. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Children sitting at school desks.
Caption: "Education is opportunity: the USA offers scholarships."

Key Symbols

Education—schooling

Task 97

Meaning of Key Symbol: Education is a desirable goal understood by the Thai. (It will lift the individual out of the menial labor class.)

Comment: *Situational Effect*—This appeal idea would have an adverse effect if scholarships (in sufficient numbers) were not actually available.

University Students and Faculties

384. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 1)

Dramatize stories of Thai-American friendships and deeds of mutual benefit. (1) Francis Sayre and the removal of extraterritoriality; (2) Thai and American educators, beginning with King *monkud* and the American missionaries, leading to modern development; (3) Thai and American doctors working for the improvement of the health of the people—example, Dr. Eiseman and Dr. Sem.

Key Symbols

Justice
Education
Health

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke a desire to continue the mutually beneficial associations between Thai and Americans of the past.

*See *Appeal Idea No. 93*, developed for Task 33 for use with University Students and Faculties and judged appropriate also for University Students and Faculties for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

385. *Appeal Idea* (Rating: 2)

Both Thai and Americans believe in REAL democracy.

Key Symbols

Real democracy

Meaning of Key Symbol: Thai students make a distinction between the imperfect democracy that Thailand has frequently had and what they term "real democracy." There is an implied recognition that all nations which claim to be democratic are not necessarily truly democratic.

Task 98, 99

TASK 98: To convince members of the group that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable.

Buddhist Monks

386. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Victory for the Americans will be like a tree that casts a hospitable shade over you.

Key Symbols

Adaptation of Thai saying.

Comment: Differential Effect—It has been suggested that members of other groups might perceive this appeal idea as a little patronizing.

Thailand as a Whole

*See *Appeal Idea No. 386*, developed for this task for use with Buddhist Monks and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

TASK 99: To promote among members of the group an expectation of victory for the United States and its allies.

Royalists

387. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Depict the Thai Constitution in its traditional setting, resting on a silver pedestal.

Key Symbols

Constitution on pedestal

Caption: "The Thai and American Constitutions guarantee the freedom of religion (and/or civil liberties)."

Meaning of Key Symbol: It signifies the assurance of civil liberties.

Comment: This appeal idea should be used cautiously to avoid the implication that the Thai Constitution (which limits the monarchy) has advantages other than the specific protection mentioned—and that protection must be one the royalists would appreciate.

Task 101

GOAL: COMPLIANCE

TASK 101: To get members of the group to favor cooperation with the United States.

Central Thai

388. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Three persons standing in a row. The middle one is Thai. Both are shaking hands with the Thai. The American (on left) appears sincere, but the other who is shaking hands with the Thai also has a knife behind his back.

Caption: "Friend in Appearance, Fox in Spirit: A Knife Behind One's Back."

Key Symbols

Knife behind one's back.

Comment: It has been suggested that the cobra be substituted for the fox as a symbol of crafty evil; according to one consultant, the fox is relatively unknown in Thailand.

Professional Classes

389. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Cooperation with the United States will permit an earlier return to normal peacetime life.

Key Symbols

Cooperation
Normal peacetime life

University Students and Faculties

390. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

For an uneducated person to be indifferent (*chəj məj*) is not unusual; for you it is suicide.

Key Symbols

Thai saying *chəj məj*
məj—indifferent

Meaning of Key Symbol: To be *chəj məj*—indifferent, aloof—is a value among the Thai; but it is not a value when carried to extremes. Also, the educated, modern Thai tends to reject the concept as not conducive to progress.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would enhance the feeling of superiority that the educated Thai feels toward other Thai because of his Western (modern) values. It would also indicate to the members of the group that they stand to lose a great deal more than most Thai by a policy of neutrality.

391. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Thai and Americans should work together for progress (*khuaam càrən*).

Key Symbols

khuaam càrən—
progress

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would indicate that to progress, Thailand should associate itself with America, which in the minds of the Thai is associated with progress.

Thailand as a Whole

392. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Schools, hospitals, temples, and green ricefields contrasted with ruins.

Caption: "Cooperation with the United States will keep Thailand from becoming a nation of ruins."

Key Symbols

Keep Thailand from becoming a nation of ruins

GOAL: HOSTILITY AND NONCOOPERATION

TASK 102: To discredit among members of the group the ideology and war aims of the enemy of the United States.

Armed Forces (Political)

393. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Two illustrations: (1) A Buddhist *wat* (temple), a farmer, a water buffalo, a modest farmhouse; (2) a barracks in the fields with soldiers and tanks guarding farmers bent in labor over the fields, barbed-wire fences and barred windows, overshadowed by a red star.

Caption: "Peace, Freedom, Religion and *sànu*g in *mya* *thaj*." (Scene 1)

Sub-Caption: "Not This." (Scene 2)

Key Symbols

Buddhism and *sànu*g (fun, pleasant)

Barracks and collectives

Meaning of Key Symbols: The first represents a pleasant, joyful life; the second a distasteful and hard life.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind them of the reports from Red China concerning communal reorganization of the country and tend to stiffen their opposition to Communism.

Thailand as a Whole

394. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

With all his angling he will find that the fish will not bite.

Key Symbols

Paraphrase of Thai proverb:

"*tòg plaa plaa kò
bòò kin jyàa bòò
chòòb caj plaa*"

"No fish eat the bait, since the bait does not please them."

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Task 102, 103

395. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Genghis Khan against backdrop of Chinese dragon.

Caption: "Restoration of ancient Chinese Empire, under guise of Communism is the real motive of Peking leadership."

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would raise questions about present-day Chinese intentions by drawing a parallel with the invasions of Genghis Khan and his conquest of all Southeast Asia.

Key Symbols

Genghis Khan
Red China

396. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Though possessed of a mouth and making many sounds his words are meaningless.

Key Symbols

Paraphrase of Thai proverb:

"thyy mii pdaag mii
sia plaw myan daw
hooj"

"You have your mouth
but it is useless,
like that of a tor-
toise or a mollusc."

Task 103: To arouse among members of the group hostility toward the enemy of the United States, and its leaders.

Armed Forces (Political)

397. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

The Chinese want to rule you as they do your brothers in Yunnan (sibsoongpannaa)

Key Symbols

Chinese
sibsoongpannaa—
Yunnan

Meaning of Key Symbols: *sibsoongpannaa* is the ancient land of 12,000 fields in Yunnan where the Thai originally came from and where their blood brothers still live under Peiping's rule. Thai know this—and it is a form of Irredentism.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind them that people of Thai blood are under the domination of the Chinese already, and would thus incline to deepen their already keen dislike of the Chinese.

Comment: With the assumption of Thai neutrality, it has been suggested that the adjective "Chinese" be eliminated and a term such as "Red China" or even just "China" be substituted. Because of the large Chinese minority in Thailand, it probably would not be in the interest of either Thailand or the United States to create hostility between the races as such.

Task 103

398. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The Chinese have always had evil designs upon Thailand.

Key Symbols

Chinese

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to reinforce a belief the Thai have always had.

Chinese

399. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Warning: Overseas Chinese prosperity would change for the worse if the enemy should win.

Key Symbols

Overseas Chinese prosperity

Comment: It has been suggested that the actual message containing this appeal idea include a "bill of particulars" with regard to relevant current restrictions in Red China. It should also be noted that the appeal idea would probably be most effective at a time when American prestige was high and the Chinese in Thailand were not in immediate danger of being subjected to Red Chinese occupation.

University Students and Faculties

400. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: King Chulalongkorn, military parade, etc.

Key Symbols

King Chulalongkorn
Military parade

Caption: "The enemy seeks to dominate Thailand. Its aim is to create disunity and civil war in the country."

"The United States has always been a close friend of Thailand. The U.S. helps you; Why not help yourself by resisting the promises of _____."

Meaning of Key Symbols: These are representations of nationalism.

Probable Reaction to Appeal Idea: By contrasting the suspected designs of Red China with the demonstrated friendship of the United States for Thailand, it would tend to discredit Red China and increase Thai resistance to any demands made by that country.

Thailand as a Whole

*See Appeal Idea No. 400, developed for this task for use with University Students and Faculties and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Task 103

**See Appeal Idea No. 378, developed for Task 95 for use with Royalists and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.*

**See Appeal Idea No. 397, developed for this task for use with Armed Forces (Political) and judged appropriate also for Thailand as a Whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.*

SECTION VIII

INJUNCTIONS

This section consists of "do's" and "don'ts" which are important for the operator to bear in mind in preparing messages for delivery to Thai audiences.

The injunctions were supplied by consultants who worked on Sections II through V, and, are based on generalizations about the cultural ways of the Thai people. A few appeal ideas (see Section VII) may appear to conflict with them at one point or another. These apparent contradictions reflect the more specific nature of the appeal ideas. As has been said, an appeal idea should be thought of as a possible basis for constructing a message to accomplish a particular task with a particular special audience. The operator may retain the central idea of the appeal in presenting it in a message, appropriately expressed. The injunctions are to be used as guides in the framing of messages; they are general statements of what seems to be culturally appropriate in most circumstances.

The injunctions presented here, then, deal primarily with the general approach appropriate in communicating with Thai people, given their cultural ways. They cover issues and topics that should be emphasized, issues or topics that should be avoided, and the manner in which certain aspects of such subjects as sex, religion, and nationalism should be approached or handled.

Some of this information may be relevant to matters of style and format, but it has been primarily designed to assist in framing actual messages of cultural validity.

INJUNCTIONS FOR THAILAND AS A WHOLE

Political

Do remember, and use appropriately, the Thai history of independence and freedom from foreign domination.

Do keep in mind, and use appropriately, the extent to which Thai civilization extends beyond the borders of Thailand into Laos, Burma, and Yunnan.

Do emphasize people-to-people relationships, rather than those of government-to-government, in fostering Thai-American friendship.

Do not characterize recent governments of Thailand as democratic; project democracy as an ideal to be obtained.

Religious

Do stress the importance of religion in the lives of both Thai and Westerners, and those precepts or ethical principles which are common to their respective faiths.

Do be careful, in preparing illustrated materials, to observe the special conventions pertaining to Buddhism. For example—

Always show people in positions of respect when facing or addressing a monk.

Do not show only the head of the Buddha (always show the entire statue).

Do not show monks eating with lay persons.

Do not show people in temples with shoes on.

Do not show a female touching a monk.

Do not offend Buddhist sensibilities by directly invoking the Buddhist religion as justification for political actions.

Do not belittle the animistic and superstitious beliefs which are part of the Thai religious complex.

Social

Do observe appropriate reference to parts of the body. For example—

The head is accorded the most respect. Do not depict a Thai being patted on the head.

Feet are held in low esteem and kept inconspicuous as possible.

Do not show a seated person with feet elevated or pointed.

Do not depict complete nakedness.

Do observe appropriate gestures:

Show the traditional greeting with the greeter's palms at correct elevation to indicate degree of respect (for more detailed description of this gesture see Section V).

Persons beckoning should be depicted with the palm down rather than up.

No one should be shown pointing his toe at an object.

Do not depict demonstration of affection (kissing, hand-holding) between men and women. (It is permissible to show two people holding hands if they are of the same sex.)

Do take advantage of holidays and festivals:

Use appropriate symbols to increase reception of message.

A timely release assures larger, more attentive audiences.

Do not interfere with vital work—for example, by calling for action by farmers during planting or harvest seasons.

Do not openly expect gratitude for U.S. assistance to Thailand. (The donor loses the merit acquired in the giving when he expects recognition for the gift.)

Do not brag. (The Thai do not respect people who "blow their own horns.")

Do not show irritation.

Do not be aggressive or impatient. (A display of these traits in Thailand is likely to result in a "freeze" or in a negative response.)

Special or Heterogeneous Groups

Do appeal to ethnic minority groups in their own language.

Do not unnecessarily offend Chinese cultural values or Chinese nationalism in attacking Communist China (however, if generating Thai antagonism against the Chinese as such is considered more important than attempting to secure or keep the good will of the Chinese in Thailand, attacks on Chinese values or Chinese nationalism might have to be risked).

Do not disparage the farmer in addressing appeals to urban communities.

ANNEXES

1. The Research Plan, Procedures, and Technical Summary.
2. References to Some Factors Influencing Communications—from
Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand.
3. Index to Appeal Ideas by Task and Special Audience.
4. Index to Special Audience Information.

ANNEX 1

THE RESEARCH PLAN

PROCEDURES AND TECHNICAL SUMMARY

I. Overview of Research Plan

A. *The Operational Requirement*

The title of PROSYMS as given in the Task Statement submitted by SORO on 25 February 1957 and accepted by the Office of the Chief of Special Warfare (OCSPWAR) on 24 July 1957 is as follows:

"A study of the comparative persuasiveness of various oral and visual symbols for the purpose of developing phonic and graphic forms to be used in propaganda operations against particular categories of individuals in potential target areas."

The potential military pay-off is described as follows:

"The OCSPWAR will have at hand a catalogue of symbol forms, for use in psychological warfare operations against selected target audiences, which:

- (1) Would already have been field-tested for effectiveness;
- (2) Would be of value in training psychological warfare personnel;
- (3) And would be ready for immediate use against possible and probable targets, in the more probable areas of military operations."

Consideration of Project PROSYMS by the staff of the Research Division of SORO led to the conclusion that the operational requirements as given in the original Task Statement needed some revisions. Both research considerations (see discussion in Research Objectives, below) and considerations of operational utility dictated a re-examination of the operational requirement.

Discussion of the problem with OCSPWAR led to the following restatement of the title of the task:

"The development of appeals and symbols of tested persuasiveness for communicating propaganda messages to specific target groups in selected countries and the formulation of principles of style and format for the effective presentation of propaganda messages."

The operative word in the revised title is appeals.¹ Propaganda appeals are the primary research product. Propaganda symbols

¹ For the definition of "appeal" and all other terms of psychological operations as used in this Annex, see Research Definitions on pages 8-11 of the Report.

are means for communicating propaganda appeals and can only be collected as they appear in the appeals developed for accomplishing specific tasks of psychological operations with specific audiences. Note also that the objective of the project has been broadened to include the collection and formulation of principles of style and format for the effective presentation of messages.

The potential military pay-off is as follows:

The OCSPWAR will have at hand a battery of appeal ideas with their key symbols for use in psychological operations against selected audiences, and a style and format guide for the effective presentation of messages to the selected audiences.

B. The Research Objectives

The research objectives of Project PROSYMS and the operational requirements of the project became one and the same as a result of the above revisions in the task title and in the potential military pay-off.

The primary research objective of Project PROSYMS is the development of tested appeal ideas for use in preparing messages to accomplish specific tasks of psychological operations with specific audiences. The secondary research objective is the compilation of information to assist in the presentation or design of effective messages.

The decision to abandon the research for persuasive symbols as the primary objective of the project was based on the following considerations:

1. Symbols for what? The world is full of symbols, verbal and nonverbal. On what basis could the research staff proceed to search for "propaganda symbols?" Clearly propaganda symbols are those symbols which are employed to communicate appeals in propaganda messages. Hence, the first objective must be to develop appeal ideas. Only as these are developed, can propaganda symbols be identified.

2. The meaning of a symbol is determined by the context in which it is used. To place isolated propaganda symbols (assuming that such symbols could be developed) in the hands of an operator who may not be familiar with the language and culture of the particular audience would be of little or no value and might, in fact, be dangerous. The field operator requires complete communication concepts rather than isolated symbols; he requires appeal ideas which are sentences or paragraphs containing symbols, correctly used. In the writing of messages for use in psychological operations, these appeal ideas can be modified or adapted as required by the situation to accomplish specific tasks with specific audiences.

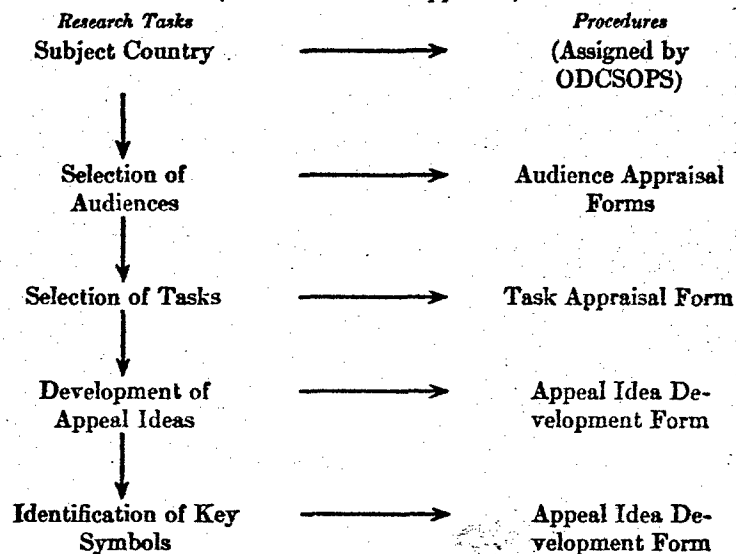
C. The Research Plan and Procedures

The accomplishment of the two research objectives of PROSYMS required that a systematic research plan be developed. The plan finally evolved is diagrammatically represented on pages 295, 296.

DIAGRAM OF PROSYMS RESEARCH PLAN AND PROCEDURES

Requirement: Psychological Operations Appeals with Key Symbols and Accompanying Cultural Information and Explanations.

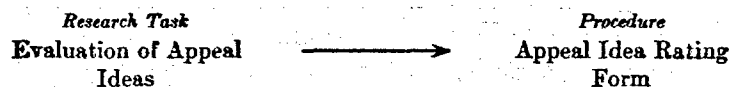
I. APPEAL DEVELOPMENT PHASE (Area Consultant Approach)



Research Product: Untested Appeals

* * * * *

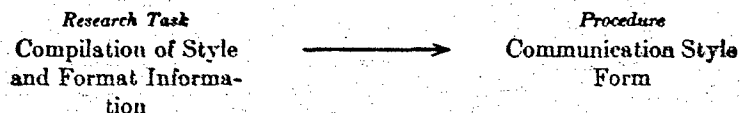
II. APPEAL EVALUATION PHASE



Research Product: Evaluated Appeals

* * * * *

III. STYLE AND FORMAT OF COMMUNICATION PHASE



Research Product: Guide for Effective Communication

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IV. BACKGROUND AREA MATERIAL PHASE



Research Product: Background Area Material

The first major phase of the research design is that of *Appeal Development* (including the identification and selection of special audiences). The knowledge and experience of area specialists was the primary source of needed information and appeal ideas. In the area consultant approach, specialists were used to accomplish each of the research steps listed in the left-hand column of the diagrammatic representation of the research design. The research, then, proceeds step by step to the end result, the development of appeal ideas and the identification of key symbols. The procedures which were developed to tap the knowledge of area specialists at each step in the development process are listed in the right-hand column of the diagram. (Examples of the research forms developed and used in these procedural steps may be found in the PROSYMS Burma report—*Psychological Operations: Burma (Project PROSYMS)*, pp. 393-479.)

The second major phase of the research is the *Appeal Evaluation* phase. In this phase the appeal ideas developed in the first phase were evaluated for persuasiveness.

The third major phase of the work is the *Communication Phase*. In this phase, style and format information were secured from persons knowledgeable about the subject country, some of them communications specialists, others indigenous personnel. The material thus collected was edited by the PROSYMS staff and submitted to independent specialists for review and evaluation.

The fourth major phase of the project is the *Area Background Material* phase. A panel of area specialists was convened to prepare the necessary background material. The work of the panel was guided by instructions prepared by the PROSYMS staff.

D. The Guiding Assumptions

Work upon PROSYMS required the projection of a set of assumptions regarding the nature of the possible future military situations for which the PROSYMS material was to be developed. Clearly the nature of the tasks of psychological operations will differ with the nature of projected military situations, as will the reactions of special audiences and the nature and content of persuasive appeal ideas. The problem that the PROSYMS staff faced was the selection and projection of the most probable range of broad military situations in which U.S. forces might become involved and the formulation of

guiding assumptions on a useful level of generality. The guiding assumptions selected for this study are given on page 7 of the Report.

II. The Selection of Special Audiences

A. The Problem

At the outset of the research planning process, the PROSYMS staff faced the question of the nature of the audience of psychological operations. Should appeal ideas be developed for the communication of messages to the mass population or should crucial groups and categories of persons within the total population be selected as target audiences? The importance of defining special audiences is recognized by Daniel Lerner and Hans Speier. Lerner, in his book *Sykewar*, writes:

The idea that "all Germans are alike" may have had some value as a morale weapon at home. As a guide for Sykewar, it was useless. For purposes of persuading the enemy, it was obvious that among Germans there were differences important enough to make repulsive to one group, the very appeals that were attractive to another group. Allied propagandists to Germany, like propagandists everywhere, had to cope with the existence of "multiple publics" within the given "target." Stated another way, Allied propaganda was directed against all Germany as "the enemy." This common characteristic was sufficient to distinguish Germans from, say, Belgians. It was not sufficient, however, to distinguish groups among Germans whose differences from one another, for Sykewar purposes, often were decisive.²

In his essay, "Psychological Warfare Reconsidered," Hans Speier writes:

Since in modern societies the mass of the population cannot overthrow, or actively influence the policies of despotic regimes . . . the population at large is no rewarding target of conversion propaganda from abroad. Any notion to the contrary may be called the democratic fallacy . . .³

Lerner also recognizes, however, that the mass population may be an appropriate target for certain kinds of propaganda messages.

Thus he writes:

. . . strategic propaganda concerns itself with the longer-term causes, conduct, and consequences of the war. With such an approach the interests of larger and more varied publics could be reached, and the lines of political differences among Germans could be crossed by Sykewar.⁴

In view of the importance of dealing with special audiences in psychological operations and the appropriateness of the mass population for certain kinds of propaganda messages, the decision was made to select the mass population as one audience and to identify especially significant special audiences within the total population as additional targets of psychological operations. The military groups were given first priority and are included in all PROSYMS country studies.

² Daniel Lerner, *Sykewar*, New York: George W. Stewart, Inc., 1949, pp. 135-136.

³ Published in Daniel Lerner and Harold Lasswell, eds., *The Policy Sciences*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951, p. 239.

⁴ Lerner, *Sykewar*, p. 118.

B. The Process of Selecting Special Audiences

The selection involved the following steps:

1. *Development of a tentative list of special audiences.* The PROSYMS staff assembled a tentative list of special audiences from various documentary sources. Each group was briefly described in terms of those observable characteristics typical of the group which differentiate it from other groups in the population. To assure the selection of the most crucial groups in the population, the first tentative list included those groups identified in available literature on the country as important within the society.

2. *Revision of the tentative list.* The tentative list was submitted to five consultants who were asked to review and, if necessary, to correct the descriptions of the group and to nominate additional groups if they felt there were significant omissions.

The comments of the consultants were reviewed by the PROSYMS staff and a final list of special audiences with brief descriptions was developed which incorporated the revisions suggested by the consultants.

3. *Assessment of the effectiveness and susceptibility of the special audiences.* The list of special audiences was then sent to several area specialists who were instructed to rank order the groups in terms of their effectiveness in helping to accomplish the objectives of U.S. psychological operations, and to rate on a three-point scale their susceptibility to U.S. psychological operations messages.

The rank scores of the group on effectiveness and susceptibility were transmuted into their equivalent linear scores by means of a conversion table developed by Larson⁵ and averaged. The ratings on susceptibility, summed, were used to obtain a rank order of the groups for susceptibility, which was then transmuted by the same fashion into linear scores. The linear scores of the groups on the two dimensions of effectiveness and susceptibility were then composited to yield a measure of the potential of the groups for assisting in the accomplishment of the objectives of U.S. psychological operations.

In compositing effectiveness and susceptibility to yield a composite measure of potential, the two measures were given equal weight.

The equivalent linear scores of each group on effectiveness and susceptibility, the composite scores of each group on potential in their final rank order, and the list of those groups finally selected are shown on pages 299 and 300.

⁵ In Clark L. Hull, *Aptitude Testing*, New York: World Book Co., 1928, p. 491.

**A. RANK ORDER OF SPECIAL AUDIENCES BY POTENTIAL
BASED ON COMPOSITE OF AVERAGE LINEAR SCORES
FOR EFFECTIVENESS AND SUSCEPTIBILITY**

Rank order	Special audiences	Effectiveness average linear score (7 rankings)	Susceptibility average linear score (7 ratings)	Potential composite of E & S scores
1	Armed Forces (political)-----	84.4	84.5	168.9
2	Western-educated elite-----	71.6	84.5	156.1
3	Administrators-----	74.3	73.0	147.3
4	Royalists-----	54.3	73.0	127.3
5	Professional classes-----	58.0	67.0	125.0
6	Buddhist monks-----	68.6	55.0	123.6
7	University students-----	59.9	62.0	121.9
8	University faculties-----	53.9	62.0	115.9
9	Merchant/commercial circles-----	60.6	55.0	115.6
10	Central Thai-----	53.1	62.0	115.1
11	Mass media personnel-----	59.9	55.0	114.9
12	Lay Buddhists-----	46.0	49.0	95.0
13	Chinese-----	55.0	37.0	92.0
14	Women-----	41.7	49.0	90.7
15	Transportation workers-----	48.4	41.5	89.9
16	Thailand as a whole-----	38.7	49.0	87.7
17	Rice farmers/families ¹ -----	46.0	41.5	87.5
18	Sino-Thai ¹ -----	40.0	45.0	85.0
19	Thai Malay-----	40.1	37.0	77.1
20	Thai of the Northeast-----	42.3	29.0	71.3
21	Vietnamese minorities-----	29.9	29.0	58.9
22	Fishermen-----	27.9	29.0	56.9
23	Workers in Northern forests-----	25.9	15.5	41.4
24	Tribal groups of the North-----	18.1	15.5	33.6

¹ On advice of consultants, the rice farmers and families were dropped from further consideration on the grounds that they were largely synonymous with or at least constituent to the Central Thai; the Sino-Thai were similarly dropped since the members of this group tend to think of themselves—and are thought of by others—as either Chinese or Thai.

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B. FINAL SELECTION OF SPECIAL AUDIENCES FOR INTENSIVE STUDY:

The following special audiences were selected for research beyond the point of objective description in Project PROSYMS. The selection represents primarily the relative placement of the group as indicated in Part A above—additions and modifications were made on the basis of stated SORO criteria.

1. Armed forces (as political)
2. Western-educated elite
3. Administrators
4. Royalists
5. Professional classes
6. Buddhist monks
7. University students and faculties ¹
8. Chinese ²
9. Central Thai
10. Mass media personnel
11. Thailand as a whole ³
12. Military forces (sub-groups: Officers, NCO's, EM's, Frontier police).³

¹ The formerly separate groupings of University students and University faculties have been combined since they together represent one single community in the Thai culture: because consultants knowledgeable with regard to one are almost without exception knowledgeable with regard to the other; and because their relative composite positions (reflecting the above considerations) are so close.

² The Chinese have been substituted for the Merchant/commercial circles group for eighth place on this list in order to insure heterogeneity of the selected special audiences; because the Chinese as a group absorb a major portion of the Merchant/commercial circles in any case; and because inclusion of the Chinese as a group gives some representation to the geographically strategic four southern provinces of the Malay Peninsula—which is not otherwise manifest on the list.

³ Thailand as a whole and the Military were added in conformity to the decision to include in all PROSYMS country studies the mass population and appropriate constituents of the military forces as special audiences for the purposes of this research.

Analysis of the reliability of the rankings of the groups on effectiveness and susceptibility shows that the rankings are highly reliable as measured by inter-judge agreement. The average inter-correlation between the effectiveness rankings of the seven judges was $+.63$.^{*} The estimated correlation between the summated scores of the seven consultants and the summed scores of a comparable set of five additional consultants is $+.92$. The corresponding correlations for the susceptibility scores are $+.54$ and $+.89$, respectively.

^{*} These statistical analyses are based on formulae and tables in C. C. Peters and W. R. Van Voorhis, *Statistical Procedures and Their Mathematical Bases*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1940.

4. *Selection of special audiences for intensive study.* The complete list of the criteria that were used to select the more important special audiences (and those most relevant to psychological operations) for more intensive study is given below. The *potential* of the special audiences was the primary criterion. The additional criteria were used as required to satisfy the operational requirements of the project.

CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF SPECIAL AUDIENCES FOR INTENSIVE STUDY

The following criteria will be considered by consultants in evaluating the significance of groups for psychological operations.

Potential: Equally weighted composite of effectiveness and susceptibility—a measure of the degree to which a group can assist in the accomplishment of a goal of psychological operations.

In addition, the following factors will be taken into account by the PROSYMS staff in selecting the set of groups for each subject country which will be studied in Project PROSYMS:

1. Groups will be so selected as to cover as many segments of the population as possible, i.e., to provide heterogeneity.
2. Groups will be so selected as to include one mass audience group in the set, when feasible.
3. Groups will be selected on the basis of the adequacy of available sources of information.
4. Whenever possible, groups will be so selected as to include representation of strategically important geographical areas of the country.
5. In selecting groups, the probable military role of the country in the event of war will be considered.
6. The accessibility of the group will be considered.

III. The Selection of Tasks

The second step in the appeal development phase was to select those tasks of psychological operations, which would be both feasible and useful to try to accomplish with each of the selected special audiences.

Three criteria were used in the selection of tasks for each special audience:

- (1) The degree to which the group would be susceptible to propaganda designed to accomplish the tasks;
- (2) The degree of importance of the various tasks in the support of objectives of military operations;

(3) Representative task coverage of the ten goal categories.

The judged susceptibility of each group to appeals designed to accomplish tasks of psychological operations was determined by securing ratings of susceptibility on a three-point scale: "generally susceptible," "somewhat susceptible," and "not susceptible." Ratings were secured from 17 consultants.

The degree of importance of the various tasks of psychological operations in support of the objectives of military operations was determined by asking military and knowledgeable civilian judges to rank order the goals of psychological operations in terms of their "criticality." Criticality is defined as the relative military importance of getting members of the special audience to respond in the desired way to appeals in support of a goal of psychological operations. The criticality of the tasks under each goal were then obtained by the same procedure.

The selection of the tasks for each special audience was done in the following manner. The judged susceptibility of the special audience for each of the tasks was composited with the score of the task on criticality, the two factors being assigned equal weight in determining the composite score. A score equal to or greater than the mean of the distribution of composite scores was fixed as the minimum cut-off score. For any given group, all tasks which equaled or exceeded the cut-off score were selected. In order to get adequate coverage of all ten goal categories, those tasks with the highest scores below the cut-off point were selected as required for goals which had no tasks with scores above the cut-off. The tasks selected for each of the selected special audiences by the method described above are shown on the following pages.

TASKS SELECTED AS APPROPRIATE FOR MILITARY AUDIENCES

Task No.	Short title of task	Off- cers	NCOs	En- listed men	Front- tier police
	Military Situation A:				
	<i>Goal: Good Will</i>				
1	Desirability of U.S. victory.....	X	X	X	
	<i>Goal: Discouragement</i>				
2	Doubt re: own ideology, war aims.....	X			
3	Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory.....		X		
4	Loss of confidence in own forces.....		X		X
5	Disrespect for civilian leaders.....				X
6	Desire for peace.....	X		X	
7	Anxiety about home conditions.....		X		X
8	Nostalgia.....				X
9	Apathy.....				
	<i>Goal: Discord</i>				
10	Resentment of officers by E.M.....		X		
11	Resentment of E.M. by officers.....	X			
12	Conflict among officers same grade.....				
13	Conflict between officer factions.....	X			
14	Distrust of political officers.....				
15	Discord between service branches.....	X	X		X
16	Conflicts involving ethnic groups.....		X		
17	Resentment of profiteers & favorites.....			X	
18	Resentment toward country's allies.....	X			
	<i>Goal: Privatization</i>				
19	Dissatisfaction with military life.....		X		
20	Resentment of inadequate care.....	X			X
21	Disloyalty to primary unit.....			X	
	<i>Goal: Panic</i>				
22	Disorganized behavior.....	X		X	
	<i>Goal: Subversion</i>				
23	Malingering.....			X	
24	Passive resistance.....	X	X	X	X
25	Insubordination.....				X
26	Sabotage.....				X
	<i>Goal: Surrender</i>				
27	Good treatment of POWs.....	X	X	X	X
28	Desire to live.....				
29	Passive surrender.....	X	X	X	
30	Desertion.....			X	
31	Individual surrender.....	X			
32	Group surrender.....	X	X	X	

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TASKS SELECTED AS APPROPRIATE FOR SPECIAL AUDIENCES

[illegible]

TASKS SELECTED AS APPROPRIATE FOR SPECIAL AUDIENCES--Continued

Task No.	Short title of task	Armed forces (as political)	Western-educated elite	Administrators	Royalties	Professional classes	Buddhist monks	University faculties and students	Chinese	Central Tibet	Mass media personnel
	Military Situation C:										
	Goal: Good Will										
58	Strengthening of common ideals.....		X			X					
59	Rebuilding national unity.....	X	X	X		X	X				
60	Hope for the future.....		X								
	Goal: Compliance										
61	Discrediting of defeated regime.....		X							X	
62	Countering of rumors/false reports.....							X			
63	Eradication of militarism.....		X				X	X			
64	Receptive attitudes to change.....				X				X		
65	Preparation for postwar world.....									X	

TASKS SELECTED AS APPROPRIATE FOR SPECIAL AUDIENCES—Continued

Task No.	Short title of task	Armed forces (as political)	Western-educated elite	Administrators	Loyalists	Professional classes	Buddhist monks	University faculties and students	Chinese	Central Tibet	Mass media personnel
	Military Situation E:										
	<i>Goal: Good Will</i>										
86	Promotion of friendship.....									X	
87	Strengthening of common ideals.....										
88	Noninterference in their affairs.....				X						
89	Appreciation of contributions.....	X	X			X		X			X
90	Justification for new weapons.....	X									
	<i>Goal: Encouragement</i>										
91	Hopes for postwar world.....			X			X			X	
92	Expectation of U.S. victory.....	X	X		X	X			X	X	
	<i>Goal: Compliance</i>										
93	Cooperation with U.S.....	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	

<i>Goal: Hostility</i>									
94	Disbelief in enemy war aims.....	X						X	---
95	Hostility toward common enemy.....				X				---
<i>Goal: Good Will</i>									
<i>Military Situation F:</i>									
96	Promotion of friendship.....				X			X	---
97	Strengthening of common ideals.....	X					X		---
98	Desirability of U.S. victory.....	X					X		---
99	Expectation of U.S. victory.....				X			X	---
100	Justification for new weapons.....								---
<i>Goal: Compliance</i>									
101	Cooperation with U.S.....	X			X				---
<i>Goal: Hostility</i>									
102	Discrediting of enemy war aims.....	X			X				---
103	Hostility toward U.S. enemy.....	X					X	X	X
104	Discouragement of collaboration.....	X					X		---

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IV. The Development of Appeal Ideas

In planning the procedure for the development of appeal ideas, the PROSYMS staff was guided by the injunction of Lerner to work within the predispositions of the audience.

What we wish to emphasize here is that . . . predispositions define the limits within which audiences can be effectively persuaded to modify their experiences . . .¹

The form used to guide the consultants in the task of developing appeal ideas emphasized that the objective was to develop appeal ideas that would arouse predispositions in the members of the audience which would lead to the desired changes in behavior. The consultants were first enjoined to think of the motives, values, and attitudes shared by the members of the special audience that might render them susceptible to appeals from a U.S. source.

What vulnerabilities does this group possess, i.e., what predispositions do the members of the group share that a U.S. operator can use as a means of achieving a specified task? This was the question the PROSYMS staff asked of the consultants. The consultants were then instructed to develop appeal ideas phrased in the conceptual and emotional language of the special audience. The attempt in developing appeal ideas was to use native symbols in speaking to the audience in order to evoke the desired response. Culturally specific symbols and not American symbols were sought in order to evoke culturally specific predispositions.

For each appeal idea developed, the consultant was asked to provide supporting information to assist the planner and operator to make effective use of the appeal idea in the writing of messages. He was asked to describe the reactions the appeal would probably evoke in the members of the audience and the cultural basis for those reactions. In addition, he was asked to identify the key symbols in the appeal idea and to describe their meaning for members of the special audience. Finally, he was asked to indicate whether the effectiveness of the appeal idea was dependent upon any particular military situation or assumption.

The appeal development phase resulted in the development of 1,361 appeal ideas suitable for evaluation. Thirty-three consultants contributed appeal ideas. The distribution of appeal ideas developed for each special audience is given below.

¹ Daniel Lerner, *Propaganda in War and Crisis*, New York: George W. Stewart, 1951, p. 347.

**THAILAND: DISTRIBUTION OF APPEAL IDEAS DEVELOPED
FOR EACH SPECIAL AUDIENCE**

Special audience	Number of appeals col- lected for each group	Number of appeals selected for evaluation ¹	Number of appeals surviving evaluation ²	Percent of those eval- uated which survived
Administrators.....	291	123	55	44.7
Armed forces (as political).....	215	97	32	33.0
Buddhist monks.....	174	105	33	31.4
Central Thai.....	149	90	32	35.5
Chinese.....	83	52	15	28.9
Mass media personnel.....	145	80	20	25.0
Military forces:				
Officers.....	190	86	44	51.1
Noncommissioned officers.....	201	52	26	50.0
Enlisted men.....	195	33	16	48.4
Frontier police.....	146	30	27	90.0
Professional classes.....	222	102	41	40.1
Royalists.....	261	104	42	40.3
University students/faculties.....	228	103	48	46.6
Western-educated elite.....	417	160	34	21.2
Thailand as a whole.....	299	144	72	50.0
Totals.....	³ 3,216	1,361	537	39.5

¹ See, 201 QUALITY CONTROL AND 202 DATA PROCESSING FORM; and see also, SELECTION OF APPEAL IDEAS FOR EVALUATION.

² See, DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL PERSUASIVENESS SCORES BY SPECIAL AUDIENCE.

³ Of this total, 963 are primary appeal ideas (developed primarily for a particular problem situation), and 2,253 are secondary (applied to other specified problem situations at the express suggestion of a consultant).

After developing appeal ideas for accomplishing given tasks with a given group (hereinafter called *primary* appeal ideas), consultants were asked to indicate the generality of these appeal ideas for other tasks and for other groups. Primary appeal ideas judged appropriate for other tasks and for other groups are for those other tasks and/or other groups hereinafter termed *secondary* appeal ideas.

V. The Evaluation of Appeal Ideas

The appeal ideas developed by consultants were processed by the PROSYMS staff before they were presented to consultants for evaluation.

In processing the appeal idea material, the PROSYMS staff was guided by a common set of instructions. A sample of the analysis of one consultant's contribution is presented on the following page. This worksheet makes manifest the common procedures.

201 QUALITY CONTROL AND 203 DATA PROCESSING FORM

Country *Thailand* Audience *Prof. Classes* Consultant *T-21*

Assigned Problem Situations *30*

Completed Problem Situations *21*

Item	Consultant Hours <i>8</i>	
	Sum	Percent
1. Nonconformity to SORO Appeal Concept		
A. Desired behavior <i>only</i> given.....	None	-----
B. Desired behavior and supporting reasons given in appeal.....	None	-----
2. Completeness of Material on data sheet		
A. Appeals conforming to SORO concept.....	17	81
B. Failures to identify key symbols.....	2	9
C. Failures to answer 2b or 3b.....	1	5
3. Relevancy of Material		
A. Appeals judged irrelevant to task.....	None	-----
4. Cultural Specificity of Material		
A. Appeals employing only Western or American symbols.....	None	-----
5. Situational Specificity of Material		
A. Instances of increased specificity of assumptions or contingencies.....	2	10
6. Generality of Material		
A. Appeals judged relevant to additional audiences.....	21	100
B. Appeals judged relevant to additional tasks.....	12	57
7. Specific Deficiencies		
A. Source of possible appeal in culture given but appeal itself not supplied.....	None	-----
B. Documentary reference to appeal cited but appeal itself not given.....	None	-----
C. Appeal ideas suggested but appeal itself not phrased in communicative form.....	5	23

Practical considerations made it impossible to evaluate all of the secondary appeal ideas secured in the appeal development phase. All primary appeal ideas were evaluated, however. Secondary ideas were selected in the number required to secure a sufficient number of appeal ideas per problem situation (see Research Definitions) for the evaluation process. Rules for selecting secondary appeal ideas for evaluation are given below.

SELECTION OF APPEAL IDEAS FOR EVALUATION

Combinations of Primary and Secondary Appeal Ideas for Submission to Judges for Evaluation:

1. Select all primary appeal ideas for evaluation.
2. If there are four or more primary appeal ideas for a given problem situation, do not include secondary appeal ideas for evaluation in that problem situation.
3. If there are three or fewer primary appeal ideas for a given problem situation which includes a *selected* task, select enough secondary appeal ideas to reach a total of four.

4. If there are no primary appeal ideas in a problem situation which includes a *selected task*, select four secondary appeal ideas for evaluation.
5. Do not ordinarily select any appeal ideas for a problem situation for which there are no primary appeal ideas and which does *not* include a *selected task* (an exception can be made if appeals for the problem situation are needed for breadth of coverage and if there is a significant number of secondary appeal ideas from which to make a selection—in which case select only four or less).

Criteria for Selection of Secondary Appeal Ideas Needed for Points 3 and 4 Above:

- a. Select the most *dissimilar* appeal ideas (thus avoiding repetition and giving greater range).
- b. Select, when a choice exists, those secondary appeals primarily written for the task which have *special audience generality*.
- c. Select the appeal ideas most *relevant* to the problem situation.
- d. Select appeal ideas which need the *least SORO editing*.
- e. Select appeal ideas which are *richest in symbol content*.
- f. Select appeal ideas with *most complete (and relevant) supporting data*.

Appeal ideas selected for a given group were submitted to three consultants for evaluation. The consultant judges independently evaluated each appeal idea on a scale that ranged from +5 (high in persuasiveness) through 0 (no persuasiveness whatever) to -5 (high in unfavorableness).

In addition, the consultant judges were asked to specify and describe differential and situational effects which might affect the operational use of appeal ideas judged to have some degree of persuasiveness.

In selecting the appeal ideas for presentation in this report, the PROSYMS staff adhered to the following rules:

- (1) All appeal ideas which received a zero or negative rating from one or more judges were rejected.
- (2) The ratings assigned the appeal ideas that survived step 1 above were totaled, and the distribution of total ratings plotted.
- (3) In selecting appeal ideas for presentation in the Report, only those appeal ideas which had high positive ratings were selected for each group. The percentage varied from group to group to correct for differences among the consultants in standards of judgment and to secure, insofar as possible, representative coverage of problem situations.
- (4) Appeal ideas which received a total persuasiveness score of nine or less were not ordinarily considered for inclusion in the final report.

The table following gives the distribution of total persuasiveness scores of the appeal ideas developed for each group and the cut-off points used for each group.

THAILAND: DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL PERSUASIVENESS SCORES BY SPECIAL AUDIENCE

Special Audiences	Number of appeal ideas for each special audience having positive persuasive ratings from three judges on a -1 to +5 scale, with a summed score of:													Number of appeals with all + scores	Number of appeals above out-off point
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
Administrators.....				1	6	8	18	15	19	22	6	6	2	103	55
Armed forces (as political).....	1	3	2	2	7	7	7	6	10	4	8	2	2	59	32
Buddhist monks.....		1	1	7	12	9	16	11	10	4	6	2		78	33
Central Thai.....				4	3	1	10	0	0	7	7	8	1	59	33
Chinese.....				1	1	5	6	6	4	3	4	4		34	15
Mass media personnel.....				1	4	10	6	11	4	8	5	3		52	20
Military: Officers.....		1	3	4	11	8	15	18	10	8	7	2	1	88	44
Non-commissioned officers.....		0	4	4	4	0	6	6	1	7				53	26
Enlisted men.....	2	2	4	3	3	3	0	4	3	2	1			33	16
Frontier police.....		8	7	12	7	10	5	0	3	2	1			61	27
Professional classes.....	1	1			5	12	10	8	11	12	8	10		78	41
Royalty.....			1	2	4	10	12	15	19	10	8	5		86	42
University students/faculties.....				2	1	2	9	14	11	9	21	11	7	87	48
Western-educated elite.....	1	3	3	7	10	19	17	15	11	6	2			94	34
Thailand as a whole.....			1	3	7	15	24	17	24	15	11	4	1	122	72
Totals.....														1,084	537

The out-off point is indicated by the line drawn through the table. Appeal ideas with scores on the high side of the line are included in Section VII of the Report with only a few exceptions: in a very few instances, one or two appeal ideas were taken from the summed score just lower than the out-off line in order to obtain more complete coverage; also, in a few instances, some appeal ideas evaluated as persuasive are not presented in the report since they essentially repeat other appeal ideas under the same problem situation.

The percent of appeal ideas submitted for evaluation that survived the evaluation process is given in the table on page 311 for each of the special audiences and for the totals.

The appeal ideas that survived the evaluation process described above are given in section VII of the report. Their summed evaluation scores indicated some of the surviving appeal ideas to be higher in relative persuasiveness—these were assigned the score-category of "1"; the remainder of those surviving were designated as medium in relative persuasiveness, or "2."

VI. The Compilation of Communications Information

To frame messages that will effectively communicate appeal ideas, it is necessary to know a good deal about the communication habits of the audience. As has been said so often, the "how" of communication is no less important than the "what."

Appeal ideas assist in coping with the problem of what to say to an audience. Information about acceptable stylistic and format characteristics is useful in dealing with "how" to address the audience.

To provide the planner and operator with a body of information on questions of style and format that should be considered in preparing messages, the PROSYMS staff developed an extensive form for securing information from persons with knowledge of the subject country—many of them communication specialists and some indigenous persons.

The material collected by use of this form was processed and edited by the PROSYMS staff. It was then submitted to an independent authority for review and criticism.

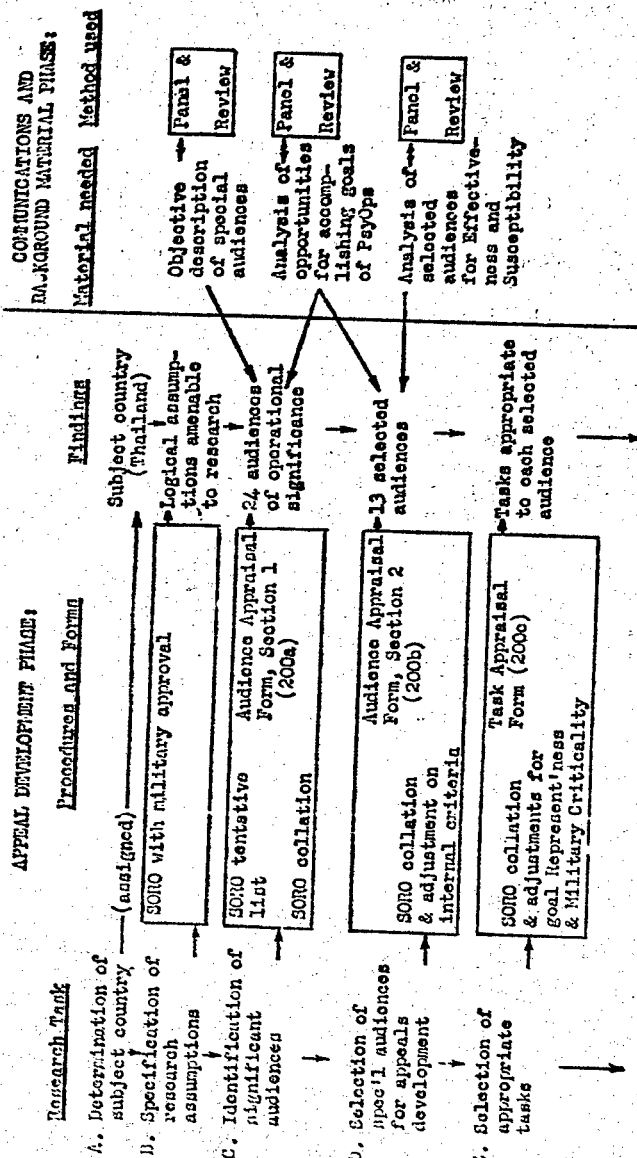
VII. The Collection of Background Area Material

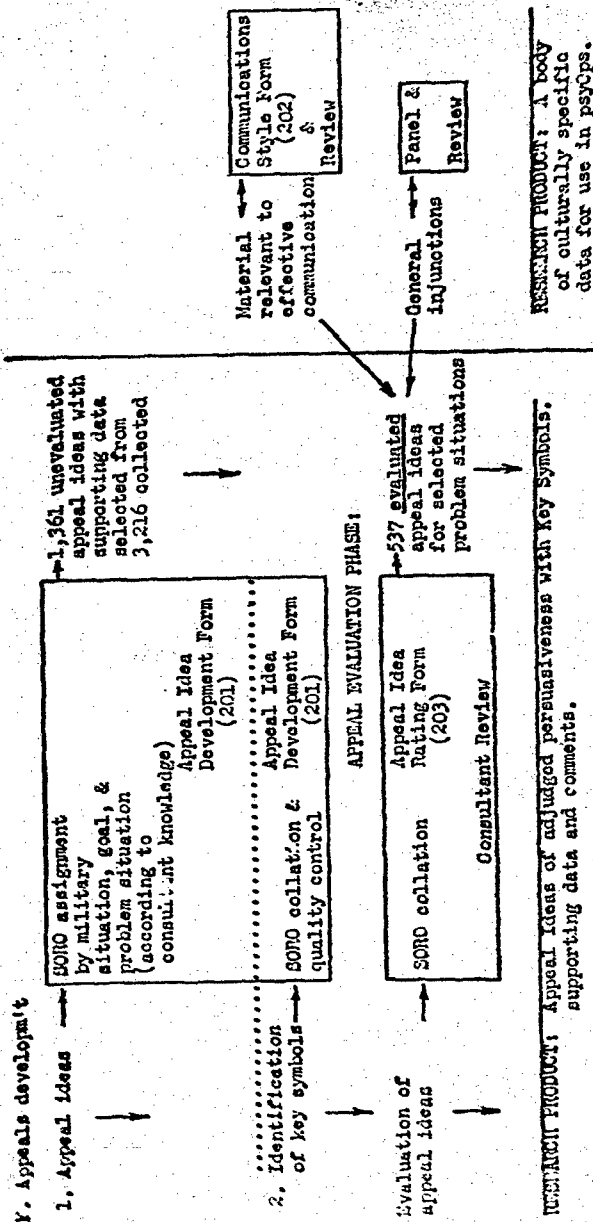
The appeal ideas given in the Report are intended to be used as ideas for the preparation of messages. Local circumstances will often require that they be revised or adapted. To assist the operator to use the appeal ideas effectively in the context of a fluid and changing strategic and tactical situation, background area material is given in Sections II, III, IV, and VIII of the report. Opportunities for psychological operations in the country are treated in Section III. The major predispositions of the selected audiences which may be appealed to by the operator in propaganda messages are analyzed in Section IV.

The area background material was supplied by a panel of three consultants, convened at SORO for that purpose. The work of the panel was guided by a detailed set of instructions prepared by the PROSYMS staff. Throughout its deliberations, the work of the panel was directed by a PROSYMS staff member who served as panel coordinator.

There follows, on pages 316, 317, a Diagrammatic Summary of the PROSYMS Research Plan and Procedures which graphically illustrates the relationship of panel work to the more empirically determined data—as well as presenting visually the step-by-step complex of the PROSYMS research.

DIAGNOSTIC REPRESENTATION OF PROSYM RESEARCH PLAN AND PROCEDURES
 Requirement: Appeal Ideas, together with Key Symbols, suitable for use in psychological operations in appropriate cultural context.





FINAL RESEARCH REPORT: A body of systematically elicited data and background material logically arranged for the information of the American Communicator; and designed to assist him in conducting psychological operations in the subject country under conditions approximating the research assumptions.

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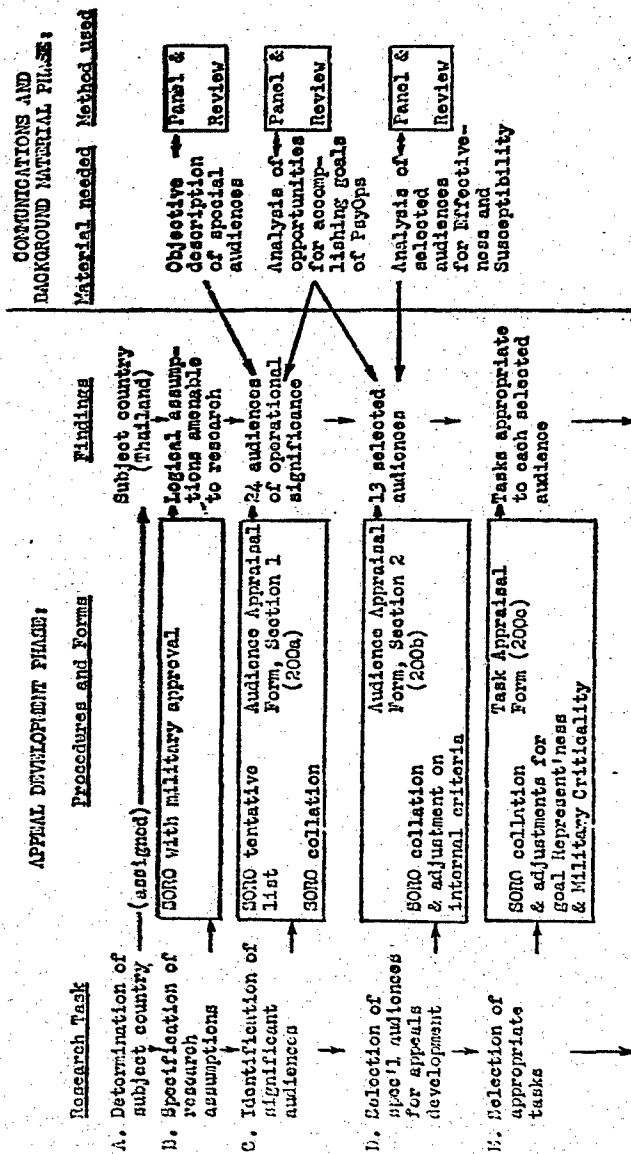
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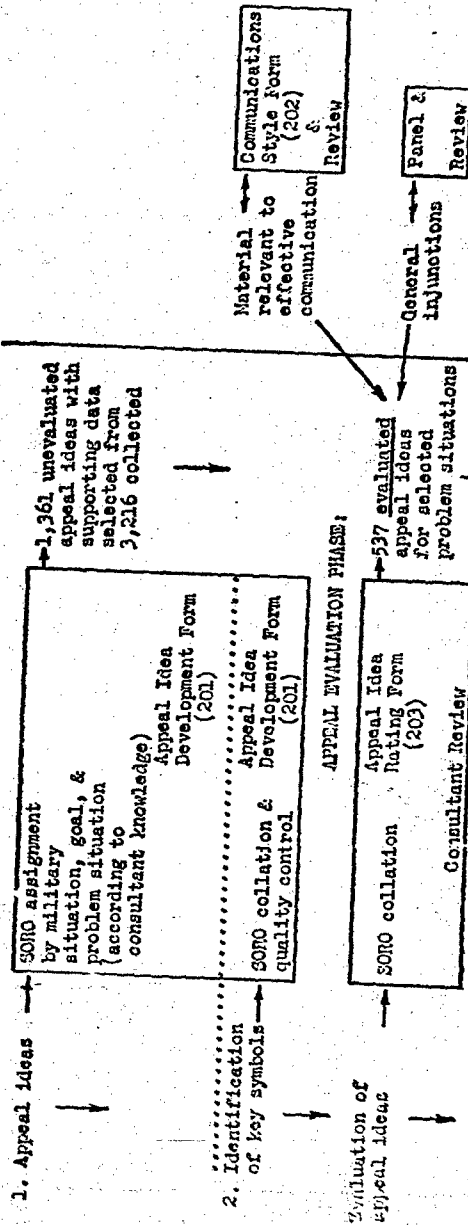
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DIAGNOSTIC REPRESENTATION OF PROSING RESEARCH PLAN AND PROCEDURES

Requirement: Appeal Ideas, together with Key Symbols, suitable for use in psychological operations in appropriate cultural context.



X. Appeals development



RESEARCH PRODUCT: Appeal Ideas of adjudged persuasiveness with key symbols, supporting data and comments.

FINAL RESEARCH REPORT: A body of systematically elicited data and background material logically arranged for the information of the American Communicator, and designed to assist him in conducting psychological operations in the subject country under conditions approximating the research assumptions.

ANNEX 2

REFERENCES TO SOME FACTORS INFLUENCING COMMUNICATIONS

The following list of references has been designed to furnish the operator easier and more rapid access to certain information contained in the *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Thailand* (1957)—information which could have a direct bearing upon his operations in the field.

The references listed here have been divided into three categories: **FACTORS FROM THE BACKGROUND OF THAI SOCIETY; ORGANS OF INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA; and CHANNELS OF INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION.** Some of the references will naturally duplicate those presented under the descriptions of the several special audiences identified as significant (see Section II, of the report): in this list, however, the references are structured to serve the operator in that aspect of his problem more closely related to Section V of the Report—that is, the *how* of communication directed toward Thailand.

Information herein referred to can lead to the sharpening of appeal-messages, and should offer important clues to the appropriate means of delivery. Thus, such information should increase probability of acceptance of United States psychological operations messages within the Thai milieu.

I. FACTORS FROM THE BACKGROUND OF THAI SOCIETY

ECONOMIC FACTORS: General 12-14, 30; newsprint, 779; power, 775-777; transportation system, 376-377, 617, 731, 733, 824-828.

GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS: General, 63-70.

LINGUISTIC FACTORS: General, 109-129, 270.

SOCIAL FACTORS:

Educational System: general, 127, 259-285, 312, 512, 541, 796-797; fundamental education, 425, 429, 433; literacy, 278-279, 281-282; of Malay minority, 89-90, 595; in the villages, 179, 191; political orientation of teachers and students, 277, 280, 590.

Family Structure: general, 16, 118, 171-210.

Leadership Structure: national, 474-475, 537-538, 576; village and local, 141-144, 220, 558-561, 605-607.

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Population Data: general, 6-8, 12, 16-17, 73-82, 135, 148-149, 166-167, 594, 735; economic groups, 153, 157-158, 363-367, 370-377, 381-382, 391, 404-406, 408, 754-755, 757, 767-768, 777, 788, 819; ethnic groups, 11, 85, 89, 91, 93-95, 102-104, 106, 596; health and welfare, 418, 427, 430-437, 439, 441-443, 458, 467; language groups, 110, 122-123, 126; police, 615-617; social status, 134, 324, 326, 332, 631-634; voters, 552, 578, 600, 604-605, 608.

Recreation and Entertainment: General, 226a, 229, 296-297, 313-322, 325; agricultural and religious festivals, 179-184, 740, 746-747; dance, drama, and music, 175, 243-249, 256; leisure, 185-187, 190-191, 208, 217; life cycle rites, 194-202; national ceremonies and holidays, 280, 474, 526; sports, 440-441; trade fair, 839.

II. ORGANS OF INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA

CULTURAL EXPRESSION: General, 231-258; architecture, 238-241; art, 232-235; crafts, 250-251; dance and drama, 243-246; painting, 241-242; literature, 251-256; music, 246-249; sculpture, 235-238. (See also, **SOCIAL FACTORS.**)

MASS MEDIA: General, 333-361; censorship, 354-359; foreign information activities, 353-354; motion pictures, 350-353; press, 282, 334-346, 353-356, 544, 593; radio, 32, 347-350, 359; television, 350.

III. CHANNELS OF INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

INDIVIDUAL CONTACTS: General, 25, 208, 338, 605.

Persons as Sources of Information: merchants and peddlers, 361, 824; monks, 141-142; political campaigners, 602; village headmen and teachers, 338.

Places of Communication (focal points): markets, 38, 823, 831; temples, 322.

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ANNEX 3

INDEX TO APPEAL IDEAS BY TASK AND SPECIAL AUDIENCE

The page references in the special audience columns opposite the tasks refer to the initial page upon which the appeal ideas for that particular audience and for that task begin.

Task No.	Short title of task	Enlisted men	Frontier police	NCOs	Officers
	Military Situation A. (enemy forces):				
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	<i>Goal: Discouragement</i>				
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3	Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory.....			134	
4	Loss of confidence in own forces.....			134	
5	Disrespect for civilian leaders.....		135		
6	Desire for peace.....				135
7	Anxiety about home conditions.....		136	137	
8	Nostalgia.....		138		
9	Apathy.....				
	<i>Goal: Discord</i>				
10	Resentment of officers by E.M.....			139	
11	Resentment of E.M. by officers.....				140
12	Conflict among officers same grade.....				140
13	Conflict between officer factions.....	141			
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15	Discord between service branches.....			141	142
16	Conflicts involving ethnic groups.....			142	
17	Resentment of profiteers & favorites.....	143			
18	Resentment toward country's allies.....		144		144
	<i>Goal: Privatization</i>				
19	Dissatisfaction with military life.....			145	
20	Resentment of inadequate care.....		148		148
21	Disloyalty to primary unit.....				
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22	Disorganized behavior.....				150

Task No.	Short title of task	Enlisted sold	Frontier police	NOOs	Officers
	Military Situation A. (enemy forces)—Continued				
	<i>Goal: Subversion</i>				
23	Malingering.....	151			
24	Passive resistance.....		152	153	153
25	Insubordination.....				
26	Sabotage.....		154		
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27	Good treatment of POWs.....		154	156	156
28	Desire to live.....				
29	Passive surrender.....	157		158	158
30	Desertion.....	159			
31	Individual surrender.....	160			159
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	<i>Goal: Encouragement</i>				
59	Rebuilding national unity.....		221		
	<i>Goal: Compliance</i>				
66	Assistance in restoration of order.....		233		
	<i>Goal: Good Will</i>				
69	Desirability of U.S. victory.....	237			
70	U.S. troops liberators.....		240		
	<i>Goal: Compliance</i>				
73	Evacuation of cities.....				246
	<i>Goal: Hostility</i>				
74	Resentment toward common enemy.....		248		249
76	Disbelief in enemy war aims.....	254			
77	Withholding of manpower and food.....		257		
	<i>Goal: Subversion</i>				
80	Slowdowns and delays.....	261			
	<i>Goal: Good Will</i>				
97	Strengthening of common ideals.....		279		

Task No.	Short Title of Task	Administrators	Armed Forces (politi- cal)	Buddhist Monks	Central Thai	Chinese	Mass Media	Protes- sion Classes	Royal- ists	Univer- sity Stu- dents/ Faculties	West- ern-ori- ented Elite	Thi- land as a Whole
	Military Situation B. (enemy):											
	<i>Goal: Good Will</i>											
33	Desirability of U.S. victory.....	101		101	102		103	103	104	105	100	100
34	U.S. troops liberators.....											107
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35	Avoidance of military targets.....	107	108	109	170	170	171	171	171	172	172	174
36	Evacuation of cities.....					174						
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37	Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory.....			175				175	176		170	177
38	Desire for peace.....	177		178	179			180	182	183		183
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40	Disrespect for national leaders.....	186			186	187	187	187	188	189		189
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Task No.	Short Title of Task	Admin- istrators	Armed Forces (Goal) (Goal)	Buck- shot Means	Central Tide	Chinese	Main Media	Protes- tional Chances	Royal- ists	Disse- min- ation Facilities	West- ern Kills	Thad- dus Wade
	Military Situation B. (enemy)—Continued											
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45	Dissension between cliques/groups.....							100	100		100	
46	Widening of social disaffection.....	200							300	300	301	302
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49	Dissatisfaction with conditions.....	207	207		208	200	209	200	210		211	
50	Disloyalty to primary group.....											
	<i>Goal: Panic</i>											
51	Disorganized or panicky behavior.....											311
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53	Malingering and absenteeism.....		213		213							214
54	Strikes.....											
55	Subotage.....						214				215	
56	Organized resistance.....	210					217	217			218	
57	Revolt or secession.....										219	

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Military Situation C. (consolidation):											
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58	Strengthening of common ideals.....										
Goal: Encouragement											
59	Rebuilding national unity.....										
60	Hope for the future.....										
Goal: Compliance											
61	Discrediting of defeated regime.....										
62	Countering of rumors/false reports.....										
63	Eradication of militarism.....										
64	Receptive attitudes to change.....										
65	Preparation for postwar world.....										
66	Assistance in restoration of order.....										
67	Assistance in handling DPs & POWs.....										
Military Situation D. (enemy occupied):											
Goal: Good Will											
68	Strengthening of common ideals.....										
69	Desirability of U.S. victory.....										
70	U.S. troops liberators.....										
71	Justification for new weapons.....										

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Task No.	Short Title of Task	Admin-istrators	Armed Forces (host only)	Bud-getist Agencies	Central Thai	Chinese	Nas Aeria	Profes-sional Classes	Royal-ists	Univer-sity Stu-dents/ Faculty	West-ern-Edu-cated Elite	Thai-Land and as a Whole
	Military Situation D. (enemy occupied)—Con.											
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73	Evacuation of cities.....	245	246			246				240		240
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74	Resentment toward common enemy.....	247	247		248		249			249		
75	Traditional values vs enemy ideology.....			250	251	252		253				253
76	Disbelief in enemy war aims.....		254					254	255	255		255
77	Withholding of manpower and food.....	250			250	257				257	258	259
78	Discouragement of collaboration.....	250		250				260				260
79	Disassociation from enemy.....								261	261		
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Task No.	Short Title of Task	Admin-istrators	Armed Forces (Quali-fy)	Buddhist Monks	Central Thai	Chinese	Mass Media	Protes-tant Churches	Royal-ist	Univer-sity Faculty	West-ernized Elite	Ther-avada Monks
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